UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Eastern Armenia on the Eve of the Russian Conquest: The Khanate of Erevan Under the Governorship of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar 1807-1827

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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1976

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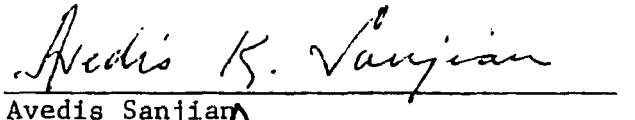

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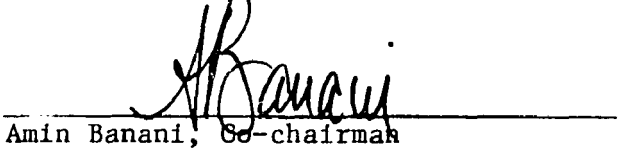

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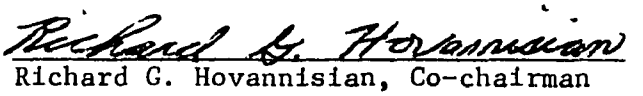

Richard G. Hovannisian, Co-chairman

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1976

To my friends and colleagues

in Soviet Armenia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

LIST OF MAPS

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATING

Transliteration from Russian is based on the Library of Congress system, although common English usage has been adopted for certain names and terms (e.g., Alexander and not Aleksandr, Nicholas and not Nikolai, etc.). Transliteration from Armenian is based on the phonetic values of Classical and Eastern Armenian. Transliteration from Persian is based on the phonetic values of modern Persian and not the customary Arabic transliteration, which is inadequate for Persian sounds (thus Torkamanchay and not Turkmenchai, Hoseyn and not Husein, etc.). Common and especially religious terms, however, have been retained in their Arabic, Turkish, or other accepted forms (e.g., mulla and not molla, Islam and not Eslam, Isfahan and not Esfahan, Isma'il and not Esma'il). The sacred names in Islam have been retained in their Arabic form and are separate from the common names used in this study (i.e., Hoseyn Khan and Imam Husein; Mohammad Khan and Muhammad the Prophet, etc.). Transliteration from Arabic and Turkish is based on the Library of Congress system, although, once again, common English usage has been adopted for certain names and terms. Diacritical marks and ligatures are not used. Except where noted, all dates (Julian, lunar and solar Hejri) are converted to the Gregorian Calendar.

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PUBLICATIONS

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_____. "The Rise of National and Political Consciousness among the Armenian, Georgian, and Turko-Tatar Peoples and Their Role in the Events of 1905-1907." The Armenian Review, XXVI (3, 1973), 103.

_____. "Sebeos: A Historical Controversy." The Armenian Review, XXVIII (2, 1975), 110.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Eastern Armenia on the Eve of the Russian Conquest:
The Khanate of Erevan Under the Governorship
of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar
1807-1827

by
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Doctor of Philosophy in History
University of California, Los Angeles, 1976
Professors Amin Banani and Richard G. Hovannisian,
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There exists no detailed account of the socioeconomic and political conditions of a particular Persian province during the nineteenth century. One such region is the Khanate of Erevan, which, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, formed a strategic base against the Russian advance into Transcaucasia. Faced with the loss of the lands north of the Aras River, the Persian state in 1807 appointed a capable governor, Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar, as the sole ruler of the Khanate of Erevan. The next two decades the khan transformed a deteriorated province into a well-administered and self-sufficient region. His uninterrupted rule of twenty years was only ended when the Russians conquered the area.

Contrary to available data, Russian and Armenian historians, with much justification, have tended to view the centuries of foreign rule as a period of great hardships for the Armenian people, including those living in the Khanate of Erevan. Hoseyn Qoli Khan's energetic rule, together with any favorable information available, has been ignored in this mass condemnation.

The intention of the present study is to examine the Persian, Armenian, and Russian archival and published sources and to narrate a detailed account of a particular Persian province in a limited time period. It is also the intention of this work to prove that the Khanate of Erevan, under the governorship of the last khan, was not the terrible dungeon described by some authors but in fact was one of the better administered regions of the Persian state.

PREFACE

There exists no detailed account of the socioeconomic and political conditions of any of the Persian provinces in Transcaucasia during the nineteenth century. The Khanate of Erevan, which in the first quarter of the nineteenth century formed a strategic base against the Russian advance into the area, is no exception.

Faced with the loss of the lands north of the Aras River, the Persian state in 1807 appointed a capable governor, Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar, as the sole ruler of the Khanate of Erevan. In the next two decades the khan transformed a deteriorated province into a well-administered and self-sufficient region. His uninterrupted rule of twenty years was finally ended by the Russian conquest of Eastern Armenia.

Having lost the area to the Russians some one hundred and fifty years ago, Persians have ignored the history of their previously held Transcaucasian regions. The Russian and Armenian sources, although numerous, have tended to emphasize the Russian rule in the area. Bypassing some important data Russian and Armenian historians, with much justification, have tended to view the centuries of foreign rule as a period of great hardships for the Armenian people.

Hoseyn Qoli Khan's important contribution to the well-being of the khanate, together with the favorable information available in the archival and other primary material, have been ignored in this mass condemnation.

The intention of the present study is to make use of the Persian, Armenian, and Russian archival and published sources in drawing a detailed account of a particular Persian province in a limited time period. It is also the intention of this work to prove that the Khanate of Erevan, under the governorship of Hoseyn Khan, was not the terrible valley described by some authors but in fact was one of the better administered regions of the Persian state.

The present study does not claim to be a final attempt but rather just a beginning and therefore confines itself to a straightforward narrative. Consequently one will find in this work no in depth analyses or interpretations, but here and there a comparison which may be useful and from which further studies may develop.

The major sources of information for this study are the travel literature; the archives of the Armenian Church (the Catholicosate Archives of Echmiadzin); and the work of Shopen (Chopin). The traveller accounts of the period, especially the volumes of Ker-Porter (1817-1820), Ouseley (1810-1812), Morier (1808-1809, 1810-1816), von Freygang (1812), von Kotzebue (1817), Drouville (1812-1813), and Jaubert (1805-1806) provide detailed eyewitness accounts

of the conditions in Eastern Armenia. The collection of Persian manuscripts (decrees, court procedures, certificates of investiture, and documents of endowment) in the archives of Echmiadzin (now integrated into the Matenadaran Archives at Erevan) are an invaluable source on the Armenian community and the Armeno-Persian relations of the time. The most important single study on the province of Erevan, however, is I. Shopen's Istoricheskii pamiatnik sostayaniia Armianskoi oblasti v epokhu ee prisoedineniia k Rossiiskoi imperii. Although basically the work concentrates on Eastern Armenia during the early years of Russian rule (1828-1836) it, nevertheless, includes the chancery records of the Persian administration. Furthermore, by listing the Russian survey (Kameral'nie Opisanie, translated into English for the first time in this study) of the area, Shopen enables the historian to measure, with a degree of accuracy, the economic situation during the Persian administration. Not as accurate as a modern census, the Kameralnie Opisanie of 1829, nevertheless, is a welcome source in Middle Eastern history. It is hoped that the introduction of this survey will prove as valuable as did the introduction of the 1798 French survey of Egypt some two decades ago.

The completion of this work would not have been possible without the assistance of the following persons in the United States; the Republic of Soviet Armenia; and Iran.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Richard Hovannisian, who encouraged me from the beginning and who patiently saw this work through its successive revisions. I also thank Professors Amin Banani and Avedis Sanjian for their numerous suggestions and comments. Special thanks are due to the International Research and Exchanges Board, who arranged my research in the Soviet Union, the Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Gulbenkian Foundation, and the National Defense Foreign Language Committee for their financial assistance which enabled me to carry out my graduate studies and research in this field. I am indebted to the many scholars and friends in the Republic of Soviet Armenia, especially to Professors H. D. Papazian and V. A. Parsamian, who advised me during my stay in Erevan. I am also grateful to the following individuals and organizations in Soviet Armenia: Babken Chukasisian, James Karapetian, Petros Abadjanian; the Academy of Sciences, the City Museum of Erevan, the Central State Library, the Central State Museum, the Matenadaran Archives, and the Central State Historical Archives. Special acknowledgment is due to J. Mebasser, R. Brooks, G. Aivazian, the university interlibrary loan service, and especially R. Ashby, who inspired self-confidence and assisted in the writing of the present study.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SKETCH

Throughout history the control of Armenia, located on the crossroads of Europe and Asia, was deemed indispensible by the surrounding empires.[1] From the fifteenth century onward the land of Ararat became a center of conflict between Turkish, Persian, and in the eighteenth century, Russian dynasties.[2]

In Eastern Armenia the interval between 1390-1827 can be divided into five periods:[3] The Turkmen (ca. 1390-1500); the early Safavid (1501-1603); the late Safavid (1603-1724); the period of political upheavals and semi-independent khanates (1724-1795); and the Qajar (1795-1827).[4]

In the first period, the invasions of Timur (Tamerlane) destroyed whatever independent principalities were left in the region.[5] This facilitated the settlement of Turkish tribes, one of which, under Amir (Emir) Sa'adi, became the prominent tribe of Sa'adlu. This tribe settled in the region of Erevan and the area became known as Chukhur Sa'ad (Vale of Sa'ad).[6] During the fifteenth century the Qara Qoyunlu, the Aq Qoyunlu, the Georgian Bagratids, the Shirvan Shahs, and the Timurids struggled for the control of the

region. By the third decade of that century, the Shi'i Qara Qoyunlu under Iskandar (1420-1438) overshadowed their opponents and dominated the land.[7] Soon, however, the Sunni Aq Qoyunlu under Uzun Hasan (1453-1478) defeated their predecessors and formed a firm base in Eastern Armenia.[8] Uzun Hasan had to face a strong foe in the Ottomans. The Ottoman pressure, combined with the Shi'i propagandists (in Eastern Anatolia) under the Safavid banner, caused the fall of the Aq Qoyunlu at the start of the sixteenth century.[9]

The second period was characterized by constant warfare, inherited from the Aq Qoyunlu, between the Safavids and the Ottomans. The Ottomans feared and hated their Shi'i rivals in the east, and through superior numbers and weapons, won the wars of the sixteenth century, forcing the Safavids into retreat. Following the battle of Chaldiran in 1514, the Ottomans gained control of the Ararat region, where they installed their own governors.[10]

The third period is distinguished by the rise of Persia under Shah 'Abbas the Great (1589-1629), who, through a centralized administration and modern army, succeeded in halting the Ottoman advance and in regaining portions of the lost territories. His successor, Shah Safi (1629-1642), continued the policy of expansion but realizing his limitations concluded a peace treaty with the Ottomans in 1639.[11] By that treaty the Ottomans recognized Eastern Armenia as a Persian province, which it remained until the collapse

of the Safavid dynasty in 1722.[12] Then, the Afghan invasion of Persia prompted the Ottomans to invade Eastern Armenia. Matters became more complicated with Russian intervention. Peter the Great, seeking expansion, took advantage of the internal situation in Persia and also invaded the Caucasus in 1722. The two belligerents, however, were old antagonists and would have gone to war with each other had not the French mediated in 1724. The Ottomans then restricted their activities to Eastern Armenia while the Russians engaged in the conquest of the Caspian littoral. Peter died the following year and the Russians withdrew from Persian territories.[13]

The fourth period was significant because of the Persian resurgence under Nader Shah Afshar (1736-1747), who, in a short time, succeeded in regaining Eastern Armenia from the Ottomans. Thereafter the province remained in Persian hands until the Russian conquest in 1827.[14] Nader Shah's death began a struggle of succession between the various groups in Persia. Although the short reign of the Zand dynasty (1750-1779) was beneficial to the south of Persia, the north suffered through chaotic conditions until the coronation of Agha Mohammad Khan in 1795 and the beginning of Qajar rule.[15]

The Qajars were Turkmen pastoralists who had settled in Syria following the Turkish movement into 'Araq-e 'Ajam and who were brought to Persia by Timur. They were among

the seven tribes who raised Shah Isma'il to the throne in 1501. Shah 'Abbas in his attempts to break the tribal elements and centralize his power divided the Qajars into three groups. One he stationed at Ganjeh (Gondzak) to check the invading Lezgis, another was planted in Marv, on the frontier of Khorasan, as a defense against the Uzbeks; and the third was settled in Astarabad to stop the ravaging Turkmen of the Caspian region.[16] It was the third branch which achieved prominence. It aided the last Safavid prince, Tahmasp II, to overthrow the Afghans, but unfortunately clashed with Nader Qoli Khan of the Afshar clan (later Nader Shah) and lost its leader Fath 'Ali Khan. Fath 'Ali's son, Mohammad Hoseyn Khan, fearing Nader, hid among Turkmen tribes of the Caspian littoral until the death of the Afshar monarch, when he reestablished himself in Astarabad. Factional strife, following the death of Nader, allowed the Zand clan under Karim Khan to consolidate power in the south and to extend control over much of Persia. Karim Khan defeated the Qajars, killed Mohammad Hoseyn in battle, and imprisoned his son Agha Mohammad. The Qajar prince was taken to Shiraz where he spent many years as a well-treated prisoner in the court of Karim Khan.[17]

After the death of the Zand monarch in 1779, Agha Mohammad Khan fled to the province of Mazandaran, where he declared himself a candidate to the throne. During

the sixteen years preceding his coronation, Agha Mohammad Khan spent his time in constant warfare, particularly pursuing a vendetta against the Zands, whom he decimated. His cruelty to all is well documented and eventually caused his own death in the fortress of Shushi.[18]

The upheavals in Persia, in the meantime, had enabled the Georgians to become briefly an important power in Transcaucasia. The Persian governors of Erevan were too weak and corrupt to defend their province and resigned themselves to pay tribute to the Georgian king, Iraklii II (1747-1798). With the rise of the Qajars, however, Iraklii sought Russian aid and eventual protection (1783). Agha Mohammad Khan, who considered Gorjestan (land of the Georgians) to be part of Persia, ignored the Russian protectorate and invaded the country in 1795, and at Tiflis (Tbilisi) ordered the infamous massacre.[19] Angered by the sack of Tiflis, Catherine the Great retaliated by invading Persia. In the campaigns of 1795-1796, the Russians took Darband, Baku, Talesh, Shemakheh, Ganjeh, and were threatening Azarbayjan when Catherine died. Her successor, Paul, recalled the Russian army. Agha Mohammad Khan was planning a second invasion of Georgia when he was murdered in 1796, bringing a brief peace.[20]

Fath 'Ali Khan (or as he was known in the tribe, Baba Khan), the nephew of Agha Mohammad Khan, became the Shah of Persia in 1797. After quelling the rebellions which

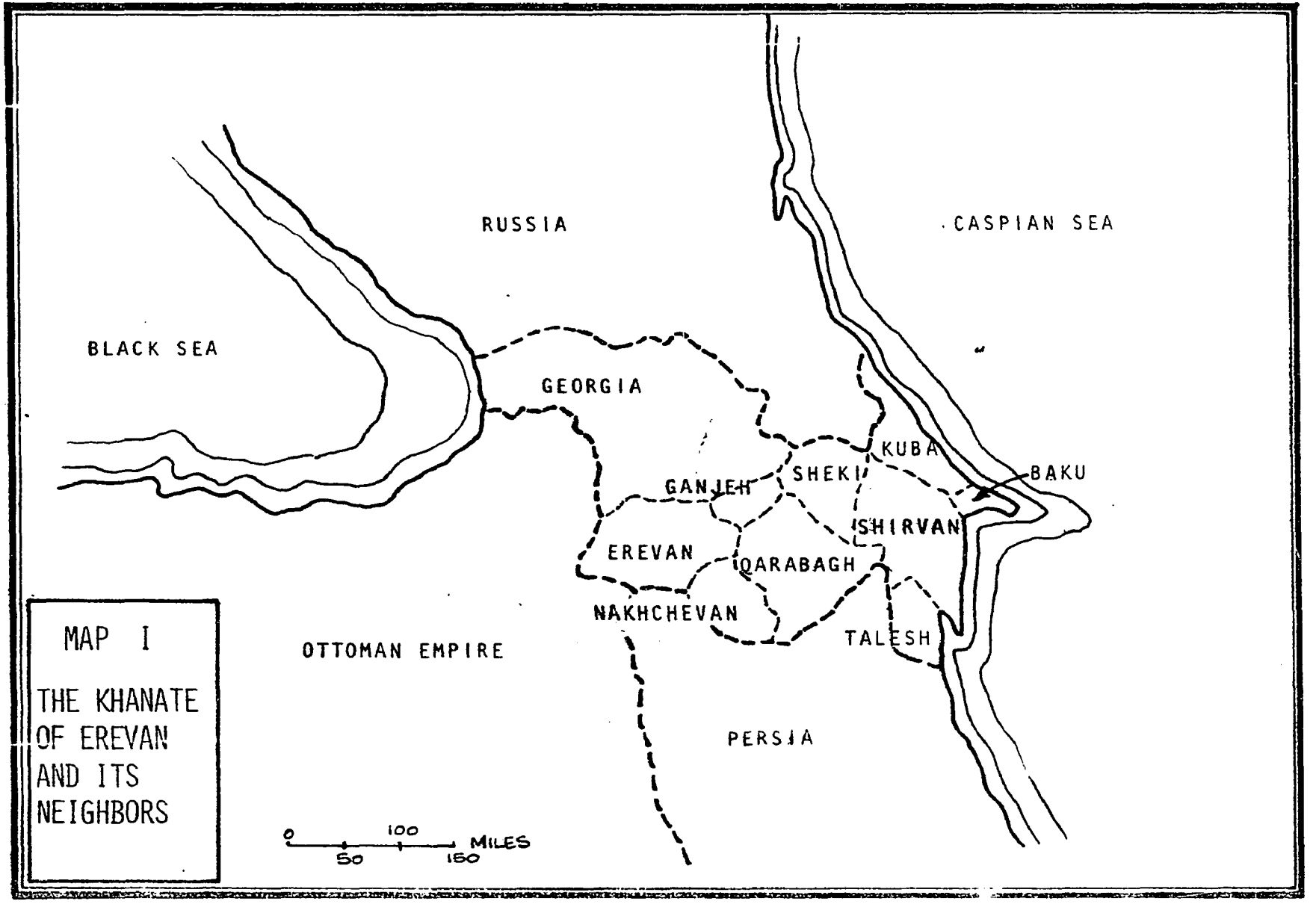
had risen on account of his uncle's death, he turned his attention toward the expanding power of Imperial Russia. Peter the Great, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and Catherine the Great in the last, had advanced inside the Caucasus, threatening northern Persia. In both cases, however, the death of the monarch and the unpreparedness of the successor caused a retreat. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century the Russians made other attempts whereby they first annexed parts of Georgia in 1801 and finally became the new masters of the Caucasus by the Treaty of Torkamanchay in 1828.

During the reign of Fath 'Ali Shah, Europe enhanced its diplomatic relations with Persia. Nineteenth century European rivalry had brought Persia into the international sphere. Britain was the first power to seek an alliance. The British feared that Napoleon, after his landing in Egypt in 1798, would seek to invade India (with Russian aid), so they concluded a treaty in 1801 to protect the sensitive route to their Indian colony. Fath 'Ali Shah was pleased with the treaty; he wanted to regain the lost territories in Afghanistan and the Caucasus and he received lavish gifts from the British envoy.[21] Contrary to the Shah's belief, the British were reluctant to aid him against Russia. The Shah then turned to Napoleon, who was anxious to secure a foothold in the Middle East. France promised the return of Georgia to Persia in the Treaty of Finkenstein

in 1807. Following the treaty a military mission under General P. de Gardane arrived in Persia to modernize the Persian army.[22] But Persian hopes were not realized; in that same year the Treaty of Tilsit created the Franco-Russian alliance and ended the French aid to Persia. The Shah once more turned to Britain. Various treaties and alliances were concluded between the years 1809-1814; direct British military aid against the Russians, however, never materialized.[23]

The Khanate of Erevan (ca. 1780-1827)

With the Russian presence in Georgia and the tsarist advance toward the Caspian, Eastern Armenia, once more, assumed a strategic importance. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Khanate of Erevan was governed by Mohammad Khan, a member of the Qajar clan, who had become a vassal of Iraklii II. After the invasion of Tiflis by Agha Mohammad Khan in 1795, the Khan of Erevan cried before the Shah, presented his son Hoseyn as hostage, and was allowed to continue as governor of Erevan.[24] In 1796 the Russians approached Mohammad Khan and his brother Kalb 'Ali Khan of Nakhchevan to betray their master. When Agha Mohammad Khan learned of the Russian intrigue, he removed Mohammad Khan from office, banished him from Erevan and blinded Kalb 'Ali Khan. The following year, the new Persian monarch, Fath 'Ali Shah, influenced by his friendship



MAP I

THE KHANATE OF EREVAN AND ITS NEIGHBORS

with Mohammad Khan's son, Hoseyn, who was his companion at the court in Shiraz, forgave Mohammad Khan and reinstated him as the governor of Erevan. After the death of the khan in 1801, Pir Qoli Khan was appointed to the post of governor of Erevan where he served until 1804.[25]

Having annexed parts of Georgia the Russians began their expansion into the neighboring areas. The Russian forces under the command of General Paul D. Tsitsianov, seized the territories of Pambak and Shuragöl (Shirak), north of the Khanate of Erevan (1804). Those regions were necessary to insure communications and supply lines to Tiflis in case of war with Persia. Soon thereafter Tsitsianov beseiged the fortress of Erevan from July 24 to September 2, 1804, but, instead of a direct attack, he decided to negotiate with Pir Qoli Khan and obtain a peaceful surrender of the fortress. The khan wisely prolonged the negotiations until the Persian relief force under 'Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent, forced the Russian retreat.[26]

Mehdi Qoli Khan, the new governor, blamed the Russian advance on the minorities (Armenians and Kurds) and began to treat them harshly. The general dissatisfaction combined with the deterioration of the Perso-Ottoman relations might well have prompted a Russian invasion, but the Russians did not take advantage of the opportunity, for General Ivan V. Gudovich feared to leave Tiflis unprotected and

forbade Major-General A. Nesvetov from carrying out his plan to invade Erevan.[27]

Mehdi Qoli Khan's oppressive rule created such an outcry that it eventually forced Fath 'Ali Shah to remove him from office. Ahmad Khan of Maragheh then governed until 1807.[28] Renewed Russian pressure in 1807 demanded the need of a trustworthy governor in that strategic region. The Shah chose a capable man of the Qajar clan, Hoseyn Qoli Khan, who governed the province for twenty years (1807-1827), the entire period of this study. Because he is not a well-known figure in Persian history and because he is the major figure in the events and policy making of the Khanate of Erevan, some biographical detail is in order.

Hoseyn Khan Qazvini, subsequently Sardar of Erevan, was the son of the previously mentioned Mohammad Khan of Erevan. Hoseyn was born in 1742. No record of his birth-place is available. The surname Qazvini suggests Qazvin as the possible birthplace, but his successful campaign in the area in 1797 and his subsequent governorship of the region may have resulted in acquiring that surname. There is no documented account of his youth, but as already stated he was later held hostage in the interior of Persia. He is first mentioned as being in Shiraz in 1795 in the household of Baba Khan, heir apparent to Agha Mohammad Khan Qajar, where he was a personal friend of the prince as well as serving in the position of yuzbashi (üzbashi,

head of hundred) of the gholam-e khass or ghular aghasi (household slaves).[29] The friendship proved fruitful for both parties in the events that followed. The murder of the monarch, Agha Mohammad Khan in Shushi in 1796, fostered a number of pretenders to the throne, most important of whom was the Kurd, Sadeq Khan Shaqaqi. After raising support among the Turkmen of the north, Sadeq Khan set out for the capital of Persia, Tehran. But Agha Mohammad Khan's nephew and heir, Baba Khan, with his loyal troops under the command of Hoseyn, reached Tehran first. There the prince recruited an army, elevated his faithful companion to the position of khan and commander of the army, and sent him against the usurper. The forces of the heir under Hoseyn Qoli Khan destroyed the pretender in the decisive battle of Qazvin in 1797, and enabled Baba Khan to ascend the throne as Fath 'Ali Shah. In the same year, the Shah sent Hoseyn Khan to Isfahan to quell a Zand rebellion led by Mohammad Khan. This accomplished, he was commissioned to deport Nader Mirza, the son of Shahrokh Shah Afshar, who was inspiring an Afshar revival in Khorasan. By 1800 Hoseyn Khan had eliminated the various threats to the crown and had secured the new monarch on the throne.[30] The traveller Freygang noted that ". . . [Hoseyn Khan] by his boldness had raised the reigning Shah to the throne" and that he enjoyed his master's full confidence.[31] Fath 'Ali Shah, in turn did not forget his

loyal companion and not only granted the khan numerous tuyuls (land grants), but also married the khan's sister, and requested one of the khan's daughters for his son 'Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent.[32] Until the year 1802, Hoseyn was stationed in Qazvin, where he guarded the northern routes to the capital. In 1802, factional strife surfaced again in Khorasan, particularly opposition to the throne by minor Afshar clans. To curb unrest, Fath 'Ali Shah appointed Hoseyn Khan as governor of the province. During a period of five years, the khan managed to restore order by imprisoning the leaders of the rebellion, blinding some by the writ of the Shah.[33]

As the khan rose in stature and favor, his wealth and prestige increased; some of that wealth found its way to public works (such as baths, caravansaries, and mosques) in the areas under his domain. Some members of his family were also elevated and his brother, Hasan, was appointed to the position previously held by Hoseyn, that of yuzbashi of the gholams. It was not long before Hoseyn's wealth ranked him among the richest in the kingdom.[34]

The major threat to the throne shifted from internal struggles to the Russian encroachment. Unable to forestall the Russian expansion in the Caucasus and having found the Caucasian khans unreliable, Fath 'Ali Shah commissioned Hoseyn Khan to secure that strategic area in 1807. Hoseyn was elevated to the rank of sardar (commander-

in-chief). The sardar hurried to Qarabagh to aid Ibrahim Khalil Khan Javanshir, who was besieged by a Russian army under General Ivan V. Gudovich. Arriving too late to aid Ibrahim, the sardar advanced to Shirvan to stop Mostafa Khan's attempted collaboration with the enemy. Strong Russian forces, however, stymied his efforts there and he had to retire south of the Kura River, in the direction of Erevan.[35]

The territory of Erevan was on the major invasion route and, if held, would make it extremely difficult for a Russian army to penetrate northern Persia. Persian reverses, as stated previously, prompted the Shah to install Hoseyn as the governor of Erevan in 1807. The monarch hoped that his friend's past successes would be repeated and the Russian threat, which had begun in 1804 (later to be called the First Russo-Persian War, 1804-1813), averted. Noted for its huge walls, the fortress of Erevan was further strengthened and provisioned to withstand a long siege. In 1808, Hasan was sent to Erevan to aid his brother against the impending Russian attack. The brothers succeeded in driving General Gudovich's troops from their territory.[36]

After their defeat the Russians, although successful on the other fronts of the Caucasus, did not venture to advance toward Erevan. British military advisors and engineers not only bolstered the fortress of Erevan, but aided in the construction of a new fortress in Sardarabad,

southwest of the city of Erevan. A formal alliance with the Ottomans against the common enemy and the concentration of the main Persian forces close to Erevan kept the Russians away until 1812. Following Napoleon's defeat, however, Russia and Britain resolved their major differences. When the Ottoman Empire also agreed to peace terms and stepped out of the conflict (Treaty of Bucharest, 1812), Russia concentrated more forces on the Caucasus and by 1813, Persia, left without allies, agreed to the terms of the Treaty of Golestan. Russia annexed all of Transcaucasia (the Khanates of Baku, Sheki, Qarabagh, Ganjeh, Kuba, Shirvan, parts of Talesh and most of Georgia) except the Khanates of Erevan and Nakhchevan.[37]

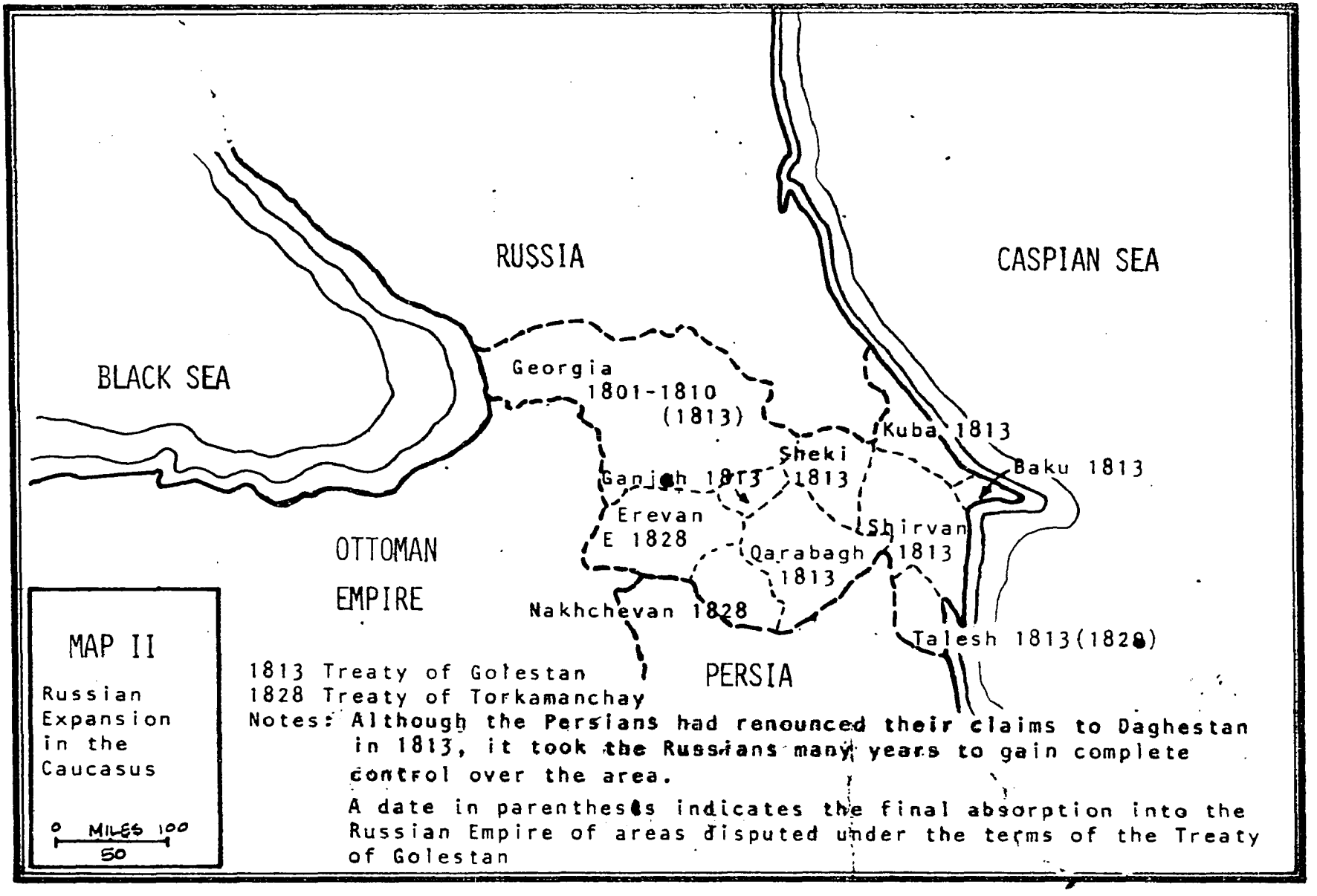
Neither Persia nor Russia, however, was satisfied with the Golestan agreement. Persia wanted to regain its lost provinces; while Russia, for socioeconomic and military reasons, wanted to expand to the bank of the Aras (Araxes) River. In 1814 Britain promised military aid to Fath 'Ali Shah, but only if a foreign power invaded Persia. During the next decade both Persia and Russia expressed their dissatisfaction over the status quo and looked for various excuses to resume hostilities. The main characters in these instigations were the sardar, Hoseyn Khan; the heir apparent, 'Abbas Mirza; and the Russian commander of the Caucasus, General Alexei P. Ermolov. All three preferred war to peace, for all three had made

their fame and fortune by war and would have been ignored in peacetime. This was especially true of 'Abbas Mirza, who had to face rival heirs, and Hoseyn Khan, who, as the commander of a war zone region, received extraordinary powers. Hoseyn Khan constantly harassed the areas of Pambak and Shuragöl by sending Kurds under the command of Hasan Khan to loot villages in the Russian-occupied region. General Ermolov on his trip to Persia in 1817 (a trip which was supposed to iron out the differences between the two countries regarding some of the clauses of the Treaty of Golestan), insulted 'Abbas Mirza by disregarding him as heir and paying his respects to another son of the Shah, a rival of the heir apparent. 'Abbas Mirza in turn appointed the renegade Prince Alexander of Georgia to rule territories close to his homeland where he incited rebellion against the Russians;[38] and furthermore, 'Abbas Mirza sent the murderer of General Tsitsianov to govern the disputed areas in Talesh.[39]

The dispute over the Khanate of Talesh and southern Shamshadil, including the northern tip of Lake Gogcheh (Sevan), were pretexts for the second Russo-Persian War. The Decembrist insurrection in Russia and the turmoil that followed the death of Tsar Alexander I prompted the Persians to attack the Russian forces in Qarabagh and Shuragöl in 1826.[40] By August of that year the Persian forces had succeeded in regaining a major portion of the lost

territories. General Ermolov's requests for reinforcements were ignored by the new tsar, Nicholas I, who suspected the commander of having Decembrist sympathies. Ermolov, therefore, was forced to stay in Tiflis to safeguard the main center of Russian rule in the Caucasus. His troops and officers, some of them exiled Decembrists, engaged in minor battles and fought without assistance, for they respected a man who had shown them compassion and had aided them in their disgrace. Their successes were limited, however, and gave the necessary excuse to the tsar, who replaced Ermolov with General Ivan F. Paskevich in 1827.[41]

In 1827 Generals Paskevich and Alexander C. Benkendorf mounted the Russian counteroffensives. They not only recaptured the lands awarded by the Treaty of Golestan, but advanced into the Khanates of Erevan and Nakhchevan. After severe fighting between the two antagonists, especially around Uch Kilisa (Vagharshapat/Echmiadzin) and Ashtarak, where Armenian volunteers aided the Russian troops, the Russians finally took the fortress of Sardarabad, forcing Hasan Khan, the commander of the fortress, to flee to Erevan.[42] The Russians did not negotiate as before but brought in their heavy artillery, with which they bombarded the various Persian fortresses.[43] After the capture of the fortress of 'Abbas Abad in Nakhchevan, the Russian army concentrated on Erevan. In the siege of Erevan (September,


RUSSIA
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Georgia
1801-1810
(1813)
Kuba 1813
Sheki
1813
Baku 1813
Ganjah 1813
Erevan
E 1828
Shirvan
1813
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
Qarabagh
1813
Nakhchevan 1828
Talesh 1813(1828)
PERSIA
MAP II
Russian
Expansion
in the
Caucasus
0 MILES 100
50
1813 Treaty of Golestan
1828 Treaty of Torkamanchay
Notes: Although the Persians had renounced their claims to Daghestan in 1813, it took the Russians many years to gain complete control over the area.
A date in parentheses indicates the final absorption into the Russian Empire of areas disputed under the terms of the Treaty of Golestan

1827) Hoseyn Khan retreated, while Hasan remained to fight and was captured.[44] After being held in Tiflis for four months, he was released under Article XIII of the Treaty of Torkamanchay, signed in 1828, which guaranteed the exchange of prisoners.[45] The treaty specifically deprived both brothers of their property in the Caucasus (Article XII).[46] The Russians insisted on this retaliation because the Qajar khans had strongly opposed them. They demanded no such confiscations in the other khanates, since the khans had simply changed one master for another. If Hoseyn Khan had followed the example of the other Caucasian khans and had surrendered peacefully, he could have kept all his property in Erevan, according to a previous Russian guarantee.[47]

By the Treaty of Torkamanchay Russia obtained the Khanates of Erevan and Nakhchevan.[48] Contrary to some sources Hoseyn Khan did not die a poor and broken man.[49] Welcomed by the Shah, Hoseyn received various other positions in Persia, and died prosperous at the age of ninety in 1831.[50]

NOTES

1. Armenia, Armenians, and Armenian, which are universal terms, are not used by the Armenians who call themselves Hay, their land Hayastan, and their language Hayeren.

2. Although the Persians call their land Iran, themselves Irani, and their language Farsi, for the sake of uniformity with the nineteenth-century European sources, the terms Persia and Persian will be used throughout this work.

3. Part of historic Greater Armenia, the Armenian lands east of the Arpa River (Arpa-chay) from the sixteenth century onward became known as Persian or Eastern Armenia, as opposed to Turkish or Western Armenia, west of the Arpa-chay (Akhurian). After the Russian conquest (1827), Eastern Armenia was also known as Russian Armenia.

4. H. D. Papazian, "Otar tirapetutiune Araratian erkrum xv d.," Teghekagir (7-8, 1960), 22. The term khanate referred to an area which was governed by a hereditary or appointed ruler with the title of beglarbeygi or khan (equivalent to pasha in the Ottoman Empire), who performed military or administrative service to the central government. The Caucasian khanates were all officially under Persian rule. They were the hereditary khanates of Baku, Ganjeh, Qarabagh, Sheki, Kuba, Shirvan, Talesh; and the appointed khanates of Erevan and Nakhchevan.

5. The names in parentheses are either the Armenian or the modern equivalents. For the sake of historical uniformity the original Persian or Turkish names will be used.

6. The term first appears in a fifteenth-century (1428) land document, Archives of the Catholicosate (now integrated into the Archives of the Matenadaran, Erevan, Armenian S. S. R.), Persian MSS. 1004, fol. 1z, cited hereafter as Matenadaran Archives. In the sixteenth century the territories of Erevan and Nakhchevan were one unit and were called the Beglarbeygi of Chukhur Sa'ad. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the two areas became separate

and ruled by different khans; the name Chukhur Sa'ad, however, continued to be applied unofficially to the area. It is interesting to note that after the Russian conquest the two regions were once more united (for a short period, 1828-1840) under the administrative title of Armianskaia Oblast' ("Armenian Province"). Erevan is pronounced Yerevan by the Armenians, Iravan by the Persians, and Erivan by the Russians.

7. The general name for a large group of different Muslim sects, the starting point of which is the recognition of 'Ali and his progeny as the rightful caliphs after the death of the prophet Muhammad. For further details see H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramer, eds., Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam (Leiden, 1961), pp. 534-541.

8. Sometimes referred to as "Orthodox," the Sunnis form the majority of Muslims. They recognize the succession of the Rashedin (rightly guided) Caliphs.

9. C. E. Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 168-171.

10. For a list of governors and further details see H. D. Papazian, "Otar tirapetutiune Araratian erkrum xvi d.," Lraber (6, 1973), 23-34.

11. R. Ramazani, The Foreign Policy of Iran, 1500-1941 (Charlottesville, 1966), pp. 18-19.

12. For details see L. Lockhart, The Fall of the Safavid Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia (Cambridge, 1958).

13. P. Sykes, History of Persia, II (London, 1930), 232-233; Ramazani, op. cit., p. 22.

14. For further details see L. Lockhart, Nadir Shah (London, 1938).

15. Bosworth, op. cit., p. 177.

16. The Lezgis are one of the many diverse groups residing in the Caucasus. For further details see Gibb and Kramer, op. cit. The Uzbeks, who are Sunni Muslims, are a Turkic people of Central Asia residing today in the Turkestan and Uzbekistan S. S. R.

17. J. Malcolm, History of Persia, II (London, 1829), 66-69. For more details on Qajar history see R. Hedayat, Tarikh-e rowzat ol-safa, IX (Tehran, 1961);

N. Sepehr, Nasekh ol-tavarikh, I (Tehran, 1964); A. Donboli, Tarikh-e ma'aser-e soltaniyeh (Tabriz, 1826); H. Fasa'i, Farsnameh-ye Naseri (Tehran, 1891). The latter two works have been translated into English by H. Brydges, Dynasty of the Kajars (London, 1833) and H. Busse, History of Persia Under Qajar Rule (New York, 1973).

18. Donboli, op. cit., pp. 21-24. The city of Shushi or Ganjeh was renamed Elizavetpol after the Russian conquest. Today it is called Kirovabad.

19. In the eighteenth century the lands north of the Kura River were controlled by numerous Georgian rulers. The Persians called the entire area Gorjestan but the Georgians had different names for the various regions. The term Georgia, however, although erroneous for that time, is still less confusing and will be applied here. For the history of the Georgians see W. E. D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People (New York, 1932); D. M. Lang, The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy, 1765-1832 (New York, 1967).

20. Malcolm, op. cit., II, 197-199.

21. Ramazani, op. cit., pp. 38-39. For a detailed analyses of the Anglo-Persian relations in the nineteenth century see M. Mahmud, Tarikh-e ravabet-e siyasi-ye Iran va Englis dar qarn-e nuzdahom-e miladi (8 vols.; Tehran, 1964-1965).

22. J. Qa'em-maqami, "Ravabet-e Iran va Faranseh," Baresihaye Tarikhi, III (2, 1968), 37-50; Kh. Bayani, "Chand sanad dar bareh-ye ravabet-e siyasi-ye Iran va Faranseh dar doreh-ye Qajariyeh," Baresihaye Tarikhi, III (6, 1969), 127-170. For more details on the French activities in Persia see Gen. P. de Gardane, Mission de la Perse (Paris, 1865).

23. Ramazani, op. cit., pp. 40-41. For greater details on the international situation and its effect on the Caucasus see A. R. Ioannisian (Hovhannisian), Prisoedinenie Zakavkazia k Rossii i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v nachale xix stoletiia (Erevan, 1958); P. Markova, Armeniia i mezhdunarodnaia diplomatiia v xix veke (Moscow, 1940).

24. T. Kh. Hakobian, Erevani patmutiune, 1500-1800 t.t. (Erevan, 1971), pp. 416, 432; pages 455-456 contain a list of the governors of Erevan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

25. I. Shopen (Chopin), Istoricheskii pamiatnik sostayaniia Armianskoi oblasti v epokhu ee prisoedineniia k Rossiiskoi imperii (St. Petersburg, 1852), pp. 164-166.

26. N. Dubrovin, Istoriia voin i vladichestva russkikh na Kavkaze, IV (St. Petersburg, 1888), 302-303.

27. Ibid., IV, 95-98.

28. T. Kh. Hakobian, Erevani patmutiune, 1801-1879 (Erevan, 1959), p. 14.

29. M. Bamdad, Sharh-e hal-e rejal-e Iran dar qorun-e 12, 13, va 14 hejri, I (Tehran, 1969), 402.

30. Fasa'i (Busse translation), op. cit., pp. 77-91.

31. F. von Freygang, Letters from the Caucasus and Georgia, The Account of a Journey into Persia in 1812 (London, 1823), p. 284.

32. M. Ormanian, Azgapatum, III (Jerusalem, 1927), 3481; A. Eritsiants, Amenayn hayots katoghikosutiune ev Kovkasi hayk xix darum, I (Tiflis, 1894), 184.

33. Sepehr, op. cit., I, 119-124.

34. Bamdad, op. cit., I, 404.

35. Hedayat, op. cit., IX, 388-390.

36. Bamdad, op. cit., I, 330.

37. For the complete text of the treaty see J. C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East, A Documentary Record, 1535-1914, I (Princeton, 1956), 84-86.

38. Alexander, a son of Iraklii II king of Georgia, had sought refuge in Persia, following the annexation of Georgia, in the hope of regaining his ancestral throne. For details of his actions see Allen, op. cit., pp. 215-216 and W. Monteith, Kars and Erzeroum: With the Campaigns of Prince Paskevitch, 1828-1829 (London, 1856), pp. 72-78.

39. P. W. Avery, "An Enquiry into the Outbreak of the Second Russo-Persian War, 1826-1828," Iran and Islam, ed. by C. E. Bosworth (Chicago, 1971), pp. 21-25; M. Key, "Moqadamat-e jang-e dovom-e Iran va Rusiyeh," Baresihaye Tarikhi, IX (2, 1974), 49-78; V. Potto,

Kavkazskaia voina v otdel'nykh ocherkakh, epizodakh, legendakh i biografiiakh, III (St. Petersburg, 1888), 6. A valuable source for the period is P. G. Butkov, Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza (St. Petersburg, 1869). General Tsitsianov was killed treacherously by the governor of Baku, Hoseyn Khan, during the surrender of that city in 1806; for details see J. F. Baddeley, The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus (London, 1908), pp. 70-71.

40. The insurrection of December 14, 1825, was a weak attempt to reform the Russian state. Although it failed, the ideals it stood for were not destroyed, M. T. Florinsky, Russia, A History and an Interpretation, II (New York, 1970), 745-752. For further details see P. E. Shchegolev, Nikolai I i dekabristy (Petrograd, 1919) and his Dekabristy (Moscow-Leningrad, 1926).

41. For further details see N. Nersisian, Dekabristnere Hayastanum (Erevan, 1958), pp. 5-60.

42. The site of the Holy See of the Armenians, Uch Kilisa means "three churches" in Turkish and refers to the monastery of Echmiadzin (which in Armenian means "the 'Only Begotten' descended") and the two adjoining churches of St. Rhipsime and St. Gayane.

43. Kavkazskaia Arkheograficheskaia Kommissiia, Akty sobrannye Kavkzskoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissieiu, VI, pt. 1 (Tiflis, 1876), 525-526, pt. 2, 394-396.

44. For further details on the Russian campaign see Potto, op. cit., III, 343-520.

45. Hurewitz, op. cit., I, 99.

46. Ibid.

47. Potto, op. cit., I, 311.

48. The full text of the treaty can be found in Hurewitz, op. cit., I, 96-102.

49. A. Alboyajian, Patmakan Hayastani sahmannere (Cairo, 1950), p. 379.

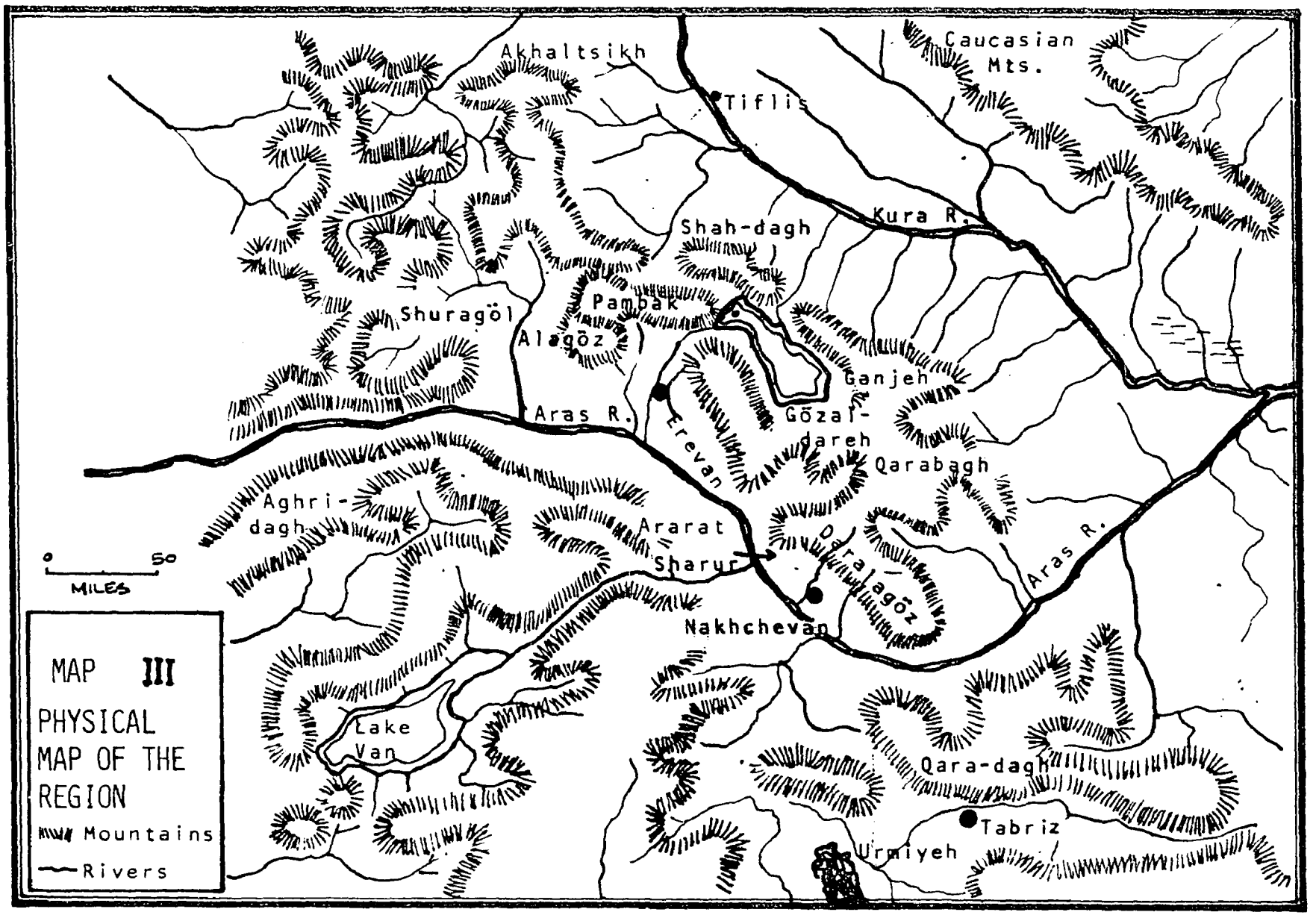
50. Bamdad, op. cit., I, 404.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND

Physical Description

Eastern Armenia is composed of a series of mountain chains surrounding the plain of Ararat and the Aras valley. The northern boundary follows the line of the Pambak chain which stretches east to west and together with the Arguni mountains lies across the northern extremity of Lake Gogcheh. Lake Gogcheh, located on high ground, is separated from the plain of Ararat by the Aghmaghan (Geghama) and Gözal-dareh (Vardenis) mountains. Running perpendicular to the Pambak and extending southwest along the borders of Lake Gogcheh are the Shahdagh (Sevan), Ganjeh, and Qarabagh mountain chains which eventually join the Daralagöz (Siunik-Zangezur) chain. The Daralagöz mountains in turn take a southward path toward the Qaradagh chain and Tabriz. Northwest of that city, between Daralagöz and the Aras River, lies the plain of Sharur. To the southwest of the city of Erevan the Aghridagh (Haykakan par "Armenian chain") mountains run from Mount Ararat in the east to Erzerum in the west. The highlands of Shuragöl and Akhaltsikh, watered by the Western Arpa-chay, form the western periphery of Eastern Armenia.[1]


Akhaltsikh
Tiflis
Caucasian Mts.
Kura R.
Shah-dagh
Pambak
Shuragöl
Alagöz
Ganjeh
Aras R.
Erevan
Gözal-dareh
Qarabagh
Aghri-dagh
Ararat
Sharur
Aras R.
Qaralagöz
Nakhchevan
0 50
MILES
MAP III
PHYSICAL MAP OF THE REGION
Mountains
Rivers
Lake Van
Qara-dagh
Tabriz
Urmiyeh

The highest point in the land is Mount Ararat (16,915 feet). To the northeast of this mountain is Mount Alagöz (Aragatz, 13,463 feet). The average elevation of Eastern Armenia is between 4,500 and 5,500 feet above sea level. The climate ranges in the extremes according to elevation and season, with hot, dry summers and severe winters.[2] The variety of climatic zones, on the other hand, has enabled the land to have a large and varied species of vegetables and animals. The mountainous regions supply abundant deposits of mineral ores.[3] The volcanic soil is fertile and capable of intensive farming with sufficient irrigation. There are, however, a few places where the land drops to below 3,000 feet. One such place is the plain of Ararat where lower altitude and abundance of water has, historically, fostered population centers.[4]

The fresh-water Lake Gogcheh and the Aras River are the major sources of water. Lake Gogcheh, to the northeast of Erevan supplies water to surrounding villages and districts, via natural streams and man-made canals. The river Aras waters most of the valley through which it flows. Other minor waterways find their sources in the many snow-bound mountains, supplying the outlying villages and replenishing Gogcheh and Aras.[5]

Historical Description

Throughout history the plain of Ararat and the Aras valley, together with the highlands watered by the Arpachay, have provided an easily accessible route to northern Persia. The famous battle of Chaldiran, for example, opened to the Ottomans the way to Tabriz and forced the Safavids to evacuate their threatened capital.[6] For Persia, therefore, control of this strategic area was always the key to the northern defenses.

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Eastern Armenia, or as it was referred to, the Khanate of Erevan, covered an area of approximately 6,500 square miles, extending between 39° and 41" North latitude, and 43° and 46" East longitude. In the north, the province bordered the Russian-administered districts of Shuragöl, Pambak, Kazakh, and Shamshadil in Georgia;[7] to the east, the Khanates of Ganjeh and Qarabagh which ultimately extended to the Caspian lowlands; to the south, the Khanate of Nakhchevan, the Persian province of Azarbayjan, and the Ottoman Pashalik (administrative unit) of Bayazit; and to the west, the Pashalik of Kars.[8] These borders were under the administrative control of the Khanate of Erevan during the tenure of the last khan (1807-1827).[9]

Administrative Districts

The Khanate of Erevan in the last two decades of Persian rule was organized into fifteen mahals (districts).[10] The mahals, usually divided by and named after rivers and streams, were as follows:

Zangi-basar[11]

This mahal extended from the south of Erevan to the Aras. In the eighteenth century Qerq-bulagh and Zangi-basar were one district surrounding the city of Erevan but under the last khan Zangi-basar formed a separate mahal. Ulu-khanlu (Masis) was the center for the thirty-two villages of this district. The mahal was watered by the Zangi and part of the Qerq-bulagh streams through many man-made canals.

Garni-basar

West of Gogcheh, this mahal extended to the Aras River in the south. The Garni (Azat) River passed through the district. Its center Qamarlu (Artashat) was surrounded by eighty-nine villages.

Vedi-basar

Situated on the left bank of the Aras, the Vedi-basar mahal was encircled by the Sharur, Surmalu, Gogcheh, and Garni-basar mahals. The Vedi and Qapan streams were its major sources of water. The mahal had fifty-two villages

with Davalu (Ararat) as its center. In the previous century Vedi-basar formed a part of the Garni-basar district.

Sharur

The southernmost mahal of the khanate, Sharur bordered Nakhchevan and Persian Azarbayjan. The Eastern Arpa-chay was the main irrigation source of the mahal. Its center was Engijeh (Ilycheysk) which oversaw sixty-two villages. The district of Sharur, formerly a part of Nakhchevan, was only incorporated into the khanate at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Surmalu

Located on the right side of the Aras between that river and the Aghridagh mountains was the Surmalu mahal. In the northwest it was watered by the Aras while in the south, due to pastoral nomadism, marginal agricultural conditions flourished. Its center, Igdir, had a total of eighty villages under its supervision. Mount Ararat was located in this mahal.

Darakend-Parcheni

This southwesternmost district, also on the right side of the Aras, lay to the west of Surmalu. A tributary of the Aras watered this mahal and its sixty-three villages with its administrative center at Kulb (Tuzlucha). Earlier the area was considered part of the Surmalu mahal but due to the important salt mines of Kulb, the last khan created

a separate administrative apparatus to farm the salt revenues.

Saotlin or Sa'adlu

The smallest mahal of the khanate was situated next to the Pashalik of Kars on the land between the Western Arpa-chay and the Aras River. It contained only fourteen villages with Kheyri-beglu as their center.

Talin

Talin was situated between Mount Alagöz and the Western Arpa-chay. It bordered Georgia and was located on the main road connecting the two provinces. The area had forty-five villages. The important trade routes to the Black Sea and Russia, via Tiflis, passed through two centers, Talin (Verin Talin) and Mastara.

Seyyedli-Akhsakhli

This district encompassed the southeast flanks of Mount Alagöz. Its center was Ushi (Artashavan) on the bank of a tributary of the Aras. The number of its villages were twenty.

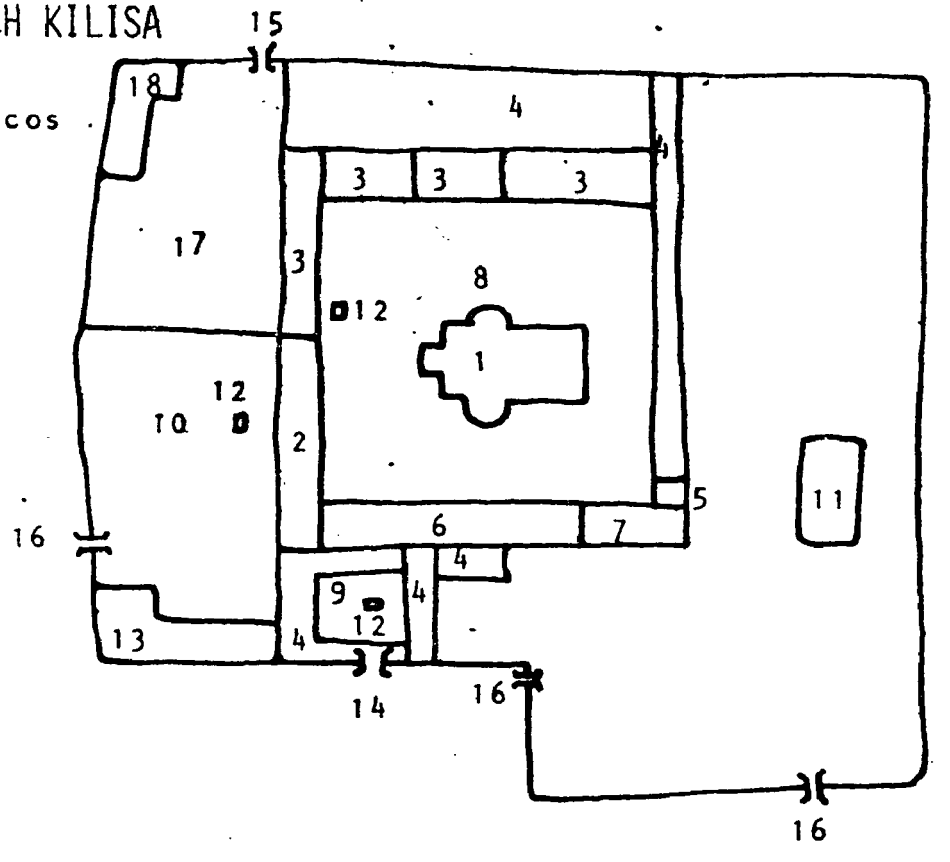
Sardarabad (Hoktemberian)

This mahal fell on the left bank of the Aras and was mainly populated by Kurds. It was during the rule of the last khan that a fortress was built both to secure the traditional invasion route and to serve as a summer resort

MAP IV

PLAN OF THE MONASTERY OF UCH KILISA

1. Cathedral
2. Residence of the Catholicos
3. Cells of monks
4. Dwellings
5. Bakery
6. Refectory and Library
7. Anbar
8. Great Court
9. Pilgrim's Court
10. Garden of Catholicos
11. Printing press
12. Fountains
13. Chancellery of the Synod
14. Great Gate
15. Bazar Gate
16. Other gates
17. Bazar
18. Shops and Caravanseray



of the khan. Its center was the city of Sardarabad which served as a second administrative center of the khanate. The mahal had thirty-five villages most of which belonged to the upper hierarchy of the khanate.

Karbi-basar

One of the most populous and richest mahals, Karbi-basar was located in the center of the khanate. The tax rolls mention fifty-two villages, some of which were based on older Armenian religious communities. Uch Kilisa was located in this area. The monastery of Uch Kilisa, or, as it was called by the Armenians, Echmiadzin was rectangular and surrounded by a stone wall close to 2,000 feet in circumference. Echmiadzin was the Holy See of the Armenians (as it is today). Inside the monastery was a building with separate quarters for the priests which resembled a caravansary, and a garden with the residence of the Catholicos (supreme patriarch). An area for the animals of the church and other provisions was attached to the residence of the priests. There was a bazar in the main courtyard with numerous shops for rent. The monastery had three main gates, the Tiridates, the inner gate (nersi darbas), and the outer gate (tursi darbas). The monastery had seventy ecclesiastic and seventy lay residents.[12] Other Armenian communities were in Oshakan, Eghvard, Byurakan, and Ashtarak. The Persian administrative center for the mahal was the settlement of Ashtarak. The waters

of the Aparan-su (Kasakh) and Karbi-chay (Amberd), both tributaries of the Aras, were diverted into extensive irrigation systems.

Aparan

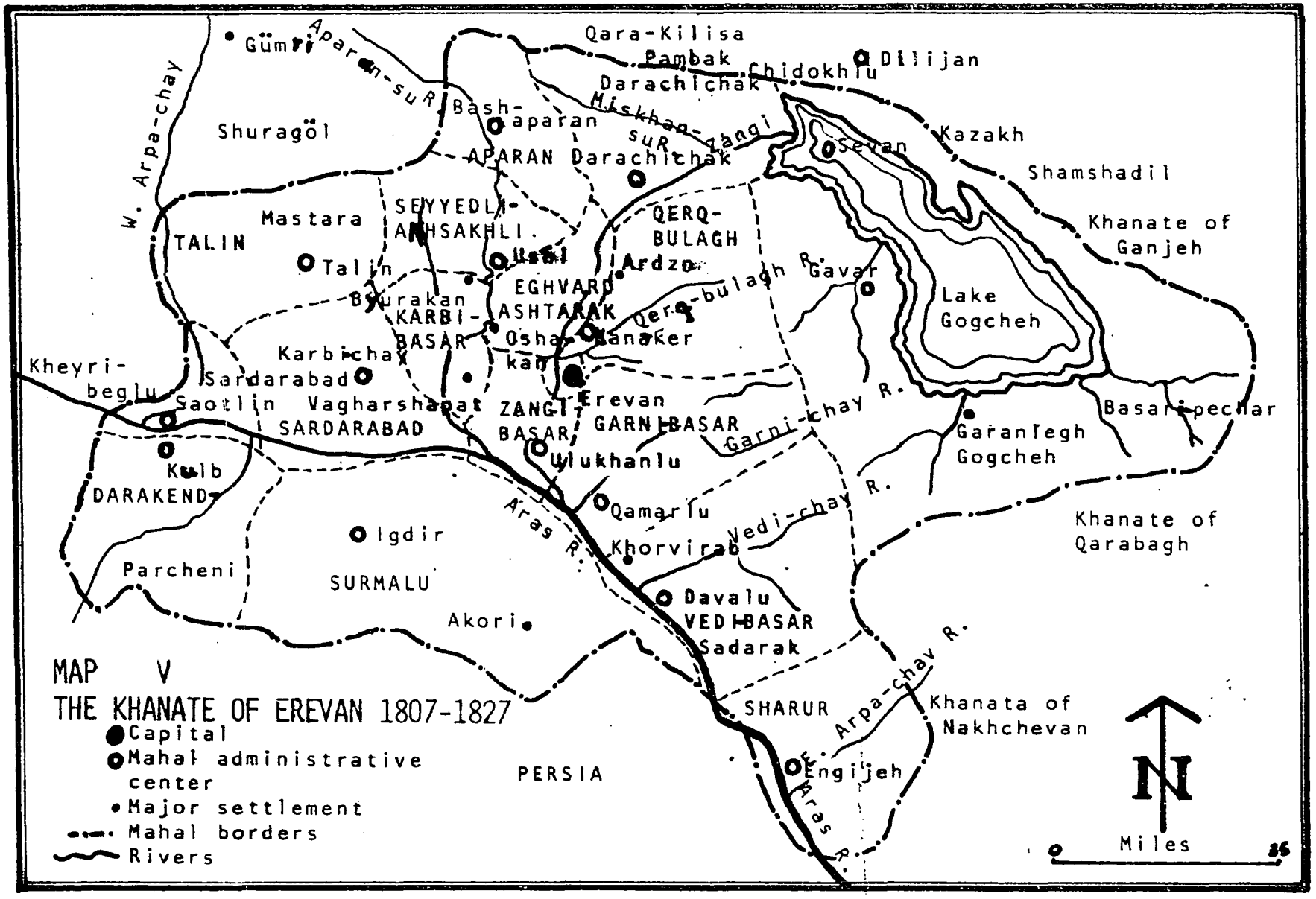
The mahal of Aparan was not only the northernmost but also one of the highest in elevation. Its center, Bash-aparan (Aparan) was close to the banks of Aparan-su. The district had sixty-one villages.

Darachichak

The mild climate of this mahal made it a summer residence for the major officials of the khanate. It was watered by the Miskhan-su (Hankavan), a stream of the Zangi. The mahal contained fifty-two villages with their center at Darachichak (Hrazdan). The northern tip of Lake Gogcheh extended into this area which bordered the province of Georgia.

Gogcheh

This was the largest mahal of the khanate and contained the fresh-water Lake Gogcheh. Severe climatic conditions and numerous invasions in the previous century, however, had depleted the population. The last khan tried to repopulate the mahal but he was not successful. Its center was Gavar, sometimes called Avan (Novo-Bayazit/Kamo).[13] It had numerous streams which were formed in the highlands and emptied into the lake. Eighty-six small


Gümri
Aparan-su R.
Qara-Kilisa
Pambak
Dilijan
Chidokhlu
Darachichak
Bash-Aparan
Miskhan-zangi
suR
Kazakh
Shuragöl
APARAN
Darachichak
Sevan
Shamshadil
W. Arpa-chay
Mastara
SEYYEDLI-
ANHSAKHLI
QERQ-
BULAGH
Khanate of
Ganjeh
TALIN
Talin
Ustal
Ardzn
Qerq-bulagh R.
Gavar
EGHVARD
ASHTARAK
Lake
Gogcheh
Karbi-chay
KARBI-
BASAR
Qanaker
Kheyri-
beglu
Sardarabad
Oshakan
Erevan
Garni-chay R.
Basar-pechar
Saotlin
Vagharshapat
ZANGI-
BASAR
GARNI-BASAR
SARDARABAD
Garanlegh
Gogcheh
Ulukhanlu
Kulb
DARAKEND
Qamarlu
Vedi-chay R.
Aras R.
Khanate of
Qarabagh
Igdir
Khorvirab
Parcheni
SURMALU
Davalu
VEDI-BASAR
Akori
Sadarak
SHARUR
Arpa-chay R.
Khanata of
Nakhchevan
PERSIA
Engijeh
Aras R.
N
Miles
MAP V
THE KHANATE OF EREVAN 1807-1827
Capital
Mahal administrative center
Major settlement
Mahal borders
Rivers

settlements, some populated by nomads, are recorded to have been there.

Qerq-bulagh

This mahal was situated north of the city of Erevan and was watered by the Qerq-bulagh (Getar), a small river with forty branches (hence the name Qerq-bulagh-forty streams). The Aghmaghan mountains separated it from the Gogcheh and Darachichak mahals, while the Zangi River divided it from the Zangi-basar and Garni-basar districts. The mahal had fifty-one villages with their center at Kanaker.[14]

The Russian survey of 1829 lists 794 villages in the Khanate of Erevan during the last years of Persian rule. Although the survey indicates that some 273 of these were in ruins or depopulated, it does not state the reasons for that circumstance.[15] The frequent wars, migrations, and natural disasters, may, however, be regarded as logical explanations. Most abandoned villages were repopulated by Armenian immigrants from Persia and the Ottoman Empire, after the khanate was incorporated into the Russian Empire.

Erevan

Centrally located in the khanate, situated between the Qerq-bulagh and the Zangi-basar mahals, the city of Erevan was surrounded by the junction of the lower branches of the Qerq-bulagh stream on the east and by the Zangi

River on the west. Its well watered site provided the source for the lush orchards and gardens which gave the city its appearance, when descending into the valley, of a verdent woodland. But when the traveller descended into the valley, the streets of Erevan presented quite a different aspect: "Narrow, dusty streets, composed of houses facing the avenues and all sorts of dirt is dumped outside."[16] The walls of the houses were generally high, making it difficult to get a glimpse of the inside.[17] The houses of the rich were, of course, constructed differently, with arched windows, porches, and elaborate doors a common feature of design.[18]

The city itself covered an area of over one square mile. The environs and gardens surrounding the city stretched some eighteen miles in circumference. The defenses of the city depended on the strength of the walled fortress. Many times the city itself was invaded while the fortress held firm. The city elite would take refuge in the fortress, while the masses were left to deal with their conquerors as best as possible. In general the people were not blamed for "collaboration with the enemy"; and they simply bided their time until their new or old masters decided their fate. The fortress was constructed by Farhad Pasha in 1582 or 1583 during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan, Murad III (1574-1595) after the Ottomans gained the region in the sixteenth century. Although

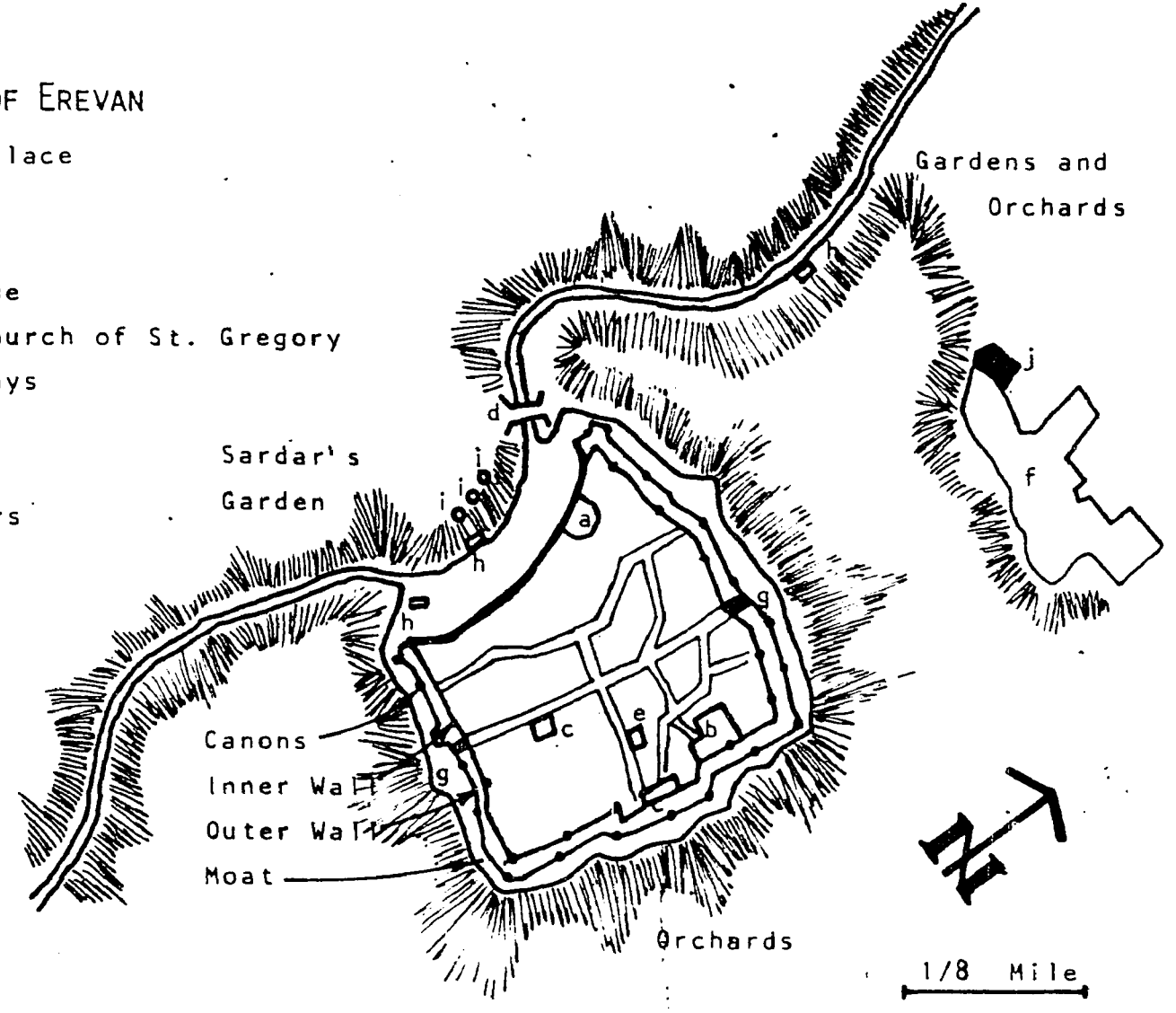
fires and earthquakes had damaged the fortress, it had been restored periodically by the Ottomans and the Persians. In 1604 Shah 'Abbas I reconquered the region and the fortress remained in Persian hands despite a major siege (1615) of four months by the Ottomans. After the death of 'Abbas the Ottomans once more seized Erevan only to surrender it to the Persians in 1635. The Ottomans, taking advantage of the fall of the Safavids, penetrated the fortress once more in 1731 but were repulsed three years later by Nader Shah.[19] The fortress withstood Russian attacks in 1804 and 1808, long enough to be relieved by forces from Persia proper. When the fortress finally fell in 1827, the walls were heavily damaged but General Paskevich did not permit the looting or destruction, usually inflicted on a site which refused to capitulate, of the fortress.[20]

Located on high ground, left of the Zangi River, the fortress of Erevan covered almost a quarter of a square mile and was surrounded by a moat on three sides and the Zangi River on the fourth.[21] It was walled with a thick (3 feet) and high (35 feet) inner bastion of dressed stone with seventeen towers, and an outer skirt wall of mud bricks. The distance between the two walls was nearly a hundred feet. The fortress was manned by a garrison of two thousand troops, which could be increased as high as seven thousand in time of war. It was armed with sixty

MAP VI

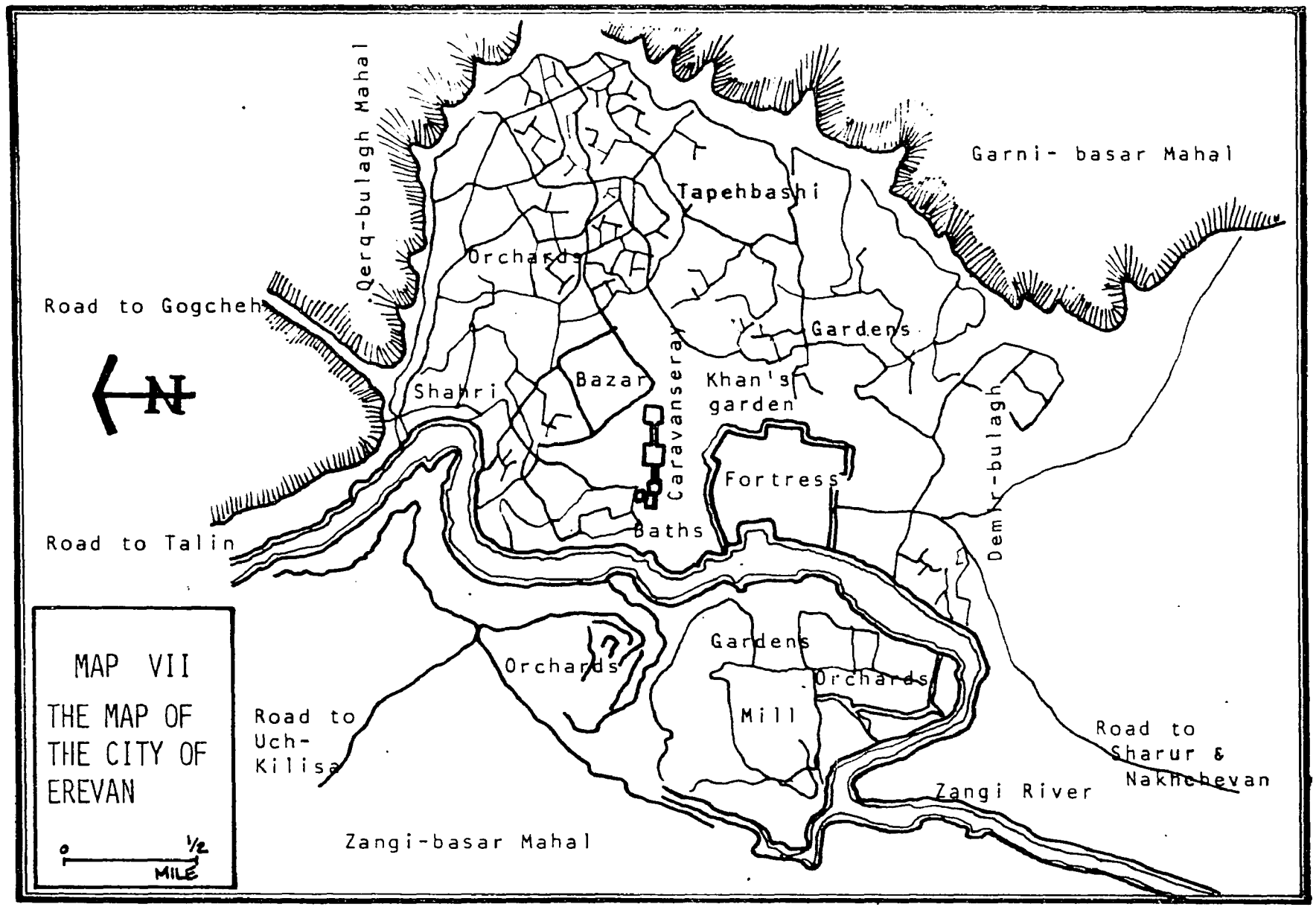
THE FORTRESS OF EREVAN

a Sardar's Palace
b Anbars
c Mosques
d Stone Bridge
e Armenian Church of St. Gregory
f Caravanserays
g Gates
h Mills
i Guard Towers
j Baths



canons and two mortars.[22] At the time of the Safavids, the fortress was not only the military center, but also housed a good portion of the city population. During the Qajar period, however, under the sardar's stringent regulations few people other than the sardar, his household, the elite, and the garrison were allowed to live within the fortress. The fortress had two gates; one in the north (bab-e Shirvan), the other in the south (Tabriz qabusi). There was also a small exit to the Zangi River, which, in times of siege, was used for gaining the water supply of the fortress.[23] Serving as a city within a city, the fortress contained two mosques, a bath, an arsenal, anbars (depots), stables, thirty-two shops, and extensive dwellings of the khan, his family, and retinue.[24] The houses inside the fortress, divided by narrow passages, were built close to each other.[25] Located in the northwest of the fortress, close to the Zangi River, was the sardar's palace and the harem.[26] The palace was constructed for Mohammad Khan, the son of Hoseyn 'Ali Khan (the father of the sardar) in 1798. The main reception rooms were the hall of mirrors and the glass eyvan (patio), which were adorned with the portraits of Fath 'Ali Shah, 'Abbas Mirza, the sardar, his brother, Hasan, and some paintings from Ferdowsi's Shahnameh (Epic of Kings).[27]

Six major roads connected the city of Erevan with the rest of the province and the neighboring regions:


Qerq-bulagh Mahal
Garni- basar Mahal
Tapehbashi
Orchards
Road to Gogcheh
Gardens
Shahri
Bazar
Caravansera
Khan's garden
Fortress
Baths
Road to Talin
Demir-bulagh
MAP VII
THE MAP OF THE CITY OF EREVAN
0 1/2 MILE
Orchards
Gardens
Orchards
Mill
Road to Uch-Kilisa
Road to Sharur & Nakhchevan
Zangi River
Zangi-basar Mahal

(1) the Erevan-Qarabagh road which went through Gogcheh mahal; (2) the twelve mile Erevan-Echmiadzin road; (3) the Erevan-Tiflis road which passed through Mastara and Gümri stretching some 210 miles; (4) the Erevan-Nakhchevan road which ran through Sharur mahal; (5) the Erevan-Lake Gogcheh road; and (6) the Erevan-Aparan road which connected the city with the northeast of the khanate. Five bridges spanned the surrounding rivers, four over Qerq-bulagh and a bridge of dressed stone with four arches over the Zangi near the fortress.[28] None of the travellers' accounts mention any major avenues within the city but mention the narrow streets that connected the meydans (squares) and the bridges.

The commercial centers, which were situated around the meydans, were all located in the old district called Shahri. The largest, Khan-bagh, was next to a smaller meydan where the country folk brought their produce for the Thursday market. The Hoseyn 'Ali Khan meydan and the Zali Khan were both attached to the mosques of that name. Fahli meydan served as the exchange house for the daily-wage workers. Of these only the Hoseyn 'Ali Khan meydan, situated next to the Friday mosque, was constructed in a regular shape (square or rectangular), while the others were shaped according to the encroachments on the public space of such private enterprises as shops, houses, vendors, etc.

Sometimes referred to as the old city, the Shahri district stretched from the right side of the Qerq-bulagh stream (today in the vicinity of the State University of Erevan) to the fortress (today composed of the Abovian, Nalbandian, and Alaverdian avenues). The Shahri district covered the north and the east of Erevan, which had outgrown the old city and had expanded to the west and south. To the west was the district of Tapeh-bashi (Kond). Originally the habitat of Armenian gypsies, the district of Tapeh-bashi was located on a hill between the Zangi River and the Shahri district. Tapeh-bashi was separated from the Shahri area by the many gardens belonging to the notables of Erevan, most famous of which was the Khan-bagh, belonging to Hoseyn Qoli Khan Sardar.[29] South of the Shahri and east of the fortress was the district of Demir-bulagh (iron stream). Originally a stone quarry, the district was inhabited mainly by the Turko-Tatars (Azeri) and those in the undesirable professions such as soap-makers, slaughterers, tanners, gravediggers, and the washers of the dead.[30]

NOTES

1. Atlas, Haykakan S. S. R. (1961), p. 7. For further details see H. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies, I (London, 1901) and T. Kh. Hakobian, Hayastani patmakan ashkharhagrutiun (Erevan, 1968).

2. Atlas, op. cit., p. 8.

3. Ibid., p. 23; Shopen, op. cit., p. 411.

4. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 735-737.

5. See Map V for the location of the waterways.

6. The distance between Chaldiran and Tabriz is approximately 250 miles.

7. By 1810 most of Georgia was under Russian rule.

8. The Soviet Armenian Republic today is less than 12,000 square miles and it extends between 37° and 41" North latitude and 37° and 47" East longitude. The areas of Igdir (with Mount Ararat) and parts of Sharur are located in Turkey and Nakhichevan A. S. S. R. respectively. On the other hand, areas in the north (Dilijan), west (Leninakan), and southeast (Zangezur) are included in the republic.

9. Earlier historical works have made two repeated errors regarding the location of the borders of the Khanate of Erevan. a: In 1805 the Russians annexed a part of the district of Shuragöl. Although the area had traditionally belonged to the Beglarbeygi of Chukhur Sa'ad, it had been usurped by Georgia (in the last years of the eighteenth century), causing bitter feelings among the then two vassals of the Persian monarch. Before the dispute could be settled, however, Georgia became a Russian protectorate. After its annexation, Shuragöl remained in Russian hands until the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828 when it was temporarily reconquered by the Persians. These events have misled a number of authors who have inaccurately included Shuragöl and the city of Gümri (Alexandropol/ Leninakan) within the post-1805 borders of the khanate. b: Under the tenure of the last khan the southern mahal of Sharur belonged to the Khanate of Erevan and not Nakhchevan. The above is verified both by the

tax rolls and traveller accounts; M. G. Nersisian, "Arevelian Hayastani miatsume Rusastanin," Patmabanasirakan handes (1, 1972), 10; V. R. Grigorian, Erevani khanutiune 18-rd dari verdjum (1780-1800) (Erevan, 1958), pp. 31-32; Shopen, op. cit., p. 968; J. Morier, A Second Journey Through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople Between the Years 1810 and 1816, II (London, 1818), 313.

10. Before the rule of the last khan there were twelve mahals in the province; Grigorian, op. cit., pp. 33-35. The traveller Ker-Porter, who visited Erevan in 1818, lists only ten mahals, R. Ker-Porter, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, During the Years 1817 to 1820, I (London, 1821), 202. Primary sources, however, clearly indicate the mahals to have been fifteen in number, Shopen, op. cit., pp. 441-446; Hakobian, op. cit., pp. 242-244.

11. Basar means covered; which in this case signifies watered by the Zangi (Hrazdan).

12. They included an interpreter (who also served as a language instructor), a mutevalli (custodian-overseer), a bailiff, four millers, six guards, a bath attendant, three cooks, six bakers, twelve gardeners, seven shepherds, two stablemen, a camel driver, a rope-weaver, three porters, four plowmen, and twenty-six servants, Shopen, op. cit., pp. 670-671.

13. After 1830 Gavar was populated by the Armenian immigrants from Bayazit and was called "Nor Bayazit" (New Bayazit).

14. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 441-446; Hakobian, Erevani patmutiune, 1801-1879, pp. 10-12. For a more detailed geographical account of the area see the following works of Gh. Alishan, Ayrarat (Venice, 1890); Teghakir hayots medzats (Venice, 1855); Shirak (Venice, 1881); and Sisvan (Venice, 1885).

15. The entire list of villages is included in Shopen, op. cit., pp. 485-517.

16. M. von Kotzebue, Mosaferat be Iran bemai'yat-e safir-e kabir-e rusiyeh dar sal-e 1817 (Tehran, 1930), p. 68. This is the Persian translation of the noted travel account of the German nobleman in the Russian service.

17. M. G. Nersisian, Iz istorii russko-armianskikh otnoshenii, I (Erevan, 1956), 314.

18. Hakobian, op. cit., pp. 226-229.

19. Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 79.

20. Baddeley, op. cit., p. 170.

21. The fortress was large indeed for it covered one-fifth of the entire space of the city of Erevan.

22. Dubrovin, op. cit., IV, 322-323.

23. H. Shahkhatuniants, Storagrutiun katoghike Edjmiadzini ev hink kavaratsu Araratia (Tiflis, 1885), p. 152.

24. One of the mosques was built by the Ottomans in 1725 and after the Russian conquest was converted into an Orthodox Church; the other, the Jami Mosque, was constructed by Hoseyn Qoli Khan. The bath was reserved for the women of the harem, Kotzebue, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

25. A. S. Griboedov, Sochinenia (Moscow, 1953), pp. 409-410.

26. After the Russian victory the harem became a military hospital.

27. S. Zelinskii, Gorod Erevan (Tiflis, 1881), pp. 7-8; Lynch adds some erotic paintings to the above list, op. cit., I, 217.

28. W. Price, Journal of Travels of the British Embassy to Persia, Through Armenia and Asia Minor (London, 1832), p. 11.

29. After the Russian takeover the gardens were mostly converted into living quarters for the Armenian refugees from Persia, who called the place "Nor Tagh" (New District).

30. Hakobian, op. cit., p. 230.

CHAPTER III

THE MUSLIM POPULATION

The population of the Khanate of Erevan at that time consisted of Muslims and Christians. The Muslims were divided into Persians, Turko-Tatars, and Kurds.[1] The Armenians formed the Christian population.[2]

After the conquest of Erevan the Russians conducted a survey in 1829.[3] Although Mirza Isma'il, the chancellor of the khanate, had submitted his tax records to the conquerors, they represented families and quotas and were not an accurate estimate of the total population of the khanate in Persian times. The Russian survey, known as the Kameral'nie Opisanie, was compiled by oral interviews with the population. But the central government soon needed more information about the newly acquired territory. Hence it commissioned I. Shopen to compile a thorough statistical account of the Chukhur Sa'ad region. Shopen resided in Erevan from 1829 to 1836. General Paskevich, the conqueror of Erevan, named him secretary of state finance for the Armianskaia Oblast' and made available to him the Persian tax rolls and the Kameral'nie Opisanie.

Thus Shopen is a primary source for statistical data on the Khanate of Erevan before and immediately after the

Russian conquest.[4] His data, however, can be deceptive for his figures do not include the members of the Persian hierarchy or the nomadic clans which emigrated to Persia after the Treaty of Torkamanchay in 1828. Shopen lists an approximate number of Kurdish families who fled the khanate but makes no comment on the number of the Turkmen nomads or the Persian ruling elite who left after the Russian takeover.[5] Since the military forces other than officers were recruited locally, the ruling elite consisted largely of the household of the khan and his supporters.[6] The heads of the divan (chancery), the khan's household, the military officers and the various khans, begs, and agas numbered some one hundred people. Each of these supported a large household of thirty to forty persons as well as their extended families and those dependent on their largesse.[7] It may be estimated, therefore, that five thousand Persians left the khanate or were killed in action.[8]

The Muslim population figures can be divided into the settled, semi-settled, and nomadic inhabitants of the khanate. According to the Russian survey, the settled and semi-settled population consisted of some 50,000 Muslims.[9] With the exception of the Persian elite, there seems to have been very little other dislocation of the settled population, either Muslim or Christian, during the transitional period.[10] Therefore, the settled and semi-

settled Muslim population of the khanate in the second decade of the nineteenth century was probably around 55,000 people.[11] The Russian survey does not mention the total number of Kurdish nomads, but Shopen estimates them to have been some 25,000 people of whom approximately 15,000 emigrated.[12] Thus the entire Muslim population of the Khanate of Erevan at that period was roughly 80,000 people.[13]

Scattered in their small villages, over half (30,000) of the settled Muslims formed the agricultural base of the province. Nearly half of the settled Muslims (20,000) also engaged in some sort of pastoral nomadism. The settled population of Muslims consisted primarily of the Turkmen groups of Bayat, Kangarlu, Aq Qoyunlu, Qara Qoyunlu, Ayrumlu, Qajar, and the Turkified Kazakhs, who together with the various Turkish-speaking nomads had settled during their westward movements and had become identified as peasants.[14] All these groups had branches which retained their nomadic existence. Probably, those nomads who could no longer maintain the minimum number of animals in their flocks and who were impoverished by natural disasters constantly supplied the settled villages with inhabitants.[15] Some of these villages were given in tenure to the leaders of the tribal confederations. The semi-settled Muslim population on the whole retained its tribal structure and allegiance.

TABLE I

The Russian Survey of the Settled Muslim Population of the Khanate of Erevan in 1829

	Families	Male	Female	Total[16]
City of Erevan				
Shahri district	802	1,627	1,527	3,199
Tapeh-bashi	594	1,333	1,204	2,537
Demir-bulagh	411	789	806	1,595
Total[17]	1,807	3,749	3,582	7,331
Mahals				
Qerq-bulagh	81	205	178	383
Zangi-basar	910	2,979	2,434	5,413
Garni-basar	753	2,231	1,945	4,176
Verdi-basar	574	1,828	1,621	3,449
Sharur	1,305	3,397	3,113	6,510
Surmalu	709	2,555	2,277	4,832
Darakend-parcheni	589	1,742	1,525	3,267
Saotlin	160	517	487	1,004
Talin	91	222	198	420
Seyyedli-Akhsakhli	311	953	801	1,754
Sardarabad	276	959	878	1,837
Karbi-basar	400	1,406	1,186	2,592
Aparan[18]	-	-	-	-
Darachichak	231	718	582	1,300
Gogcheh	999	3,164	2,443	5,607
Total for the khanate	9,196	26,625	23,250	49,875

Nomads

More than half the territory of the khanate was utilized for nomadism, which followed a fixed round of geographical movement. A large portion of the population of the khanate was engaged in nomadism (20,000 Kurds and 20,000 Turkmen, and an indefinite number of Armenians).[19] Many kinds of nomads lived together in the khanate; semi-settled nomads who depended upon agriculture and followed limited local migrations; nomads who migrated in a pattern restricted to thirty miles or less; nomads with distinct summer and winter (yeylaq and qeshlaq) camps; and nomads who grazed their flocks in the summer on mountain pastures and returned to their settled villages in the winter.[20] Most nomads in the area practiced vertical nomadism, following the sprouting spring grasses up the mountain as the snow receded and then down the mountain as the first signs of winter appeared.[21]

The Turkmen tribal groups and particularly the Armenians practiced transhumance nomadism. It is necessary to limit this term to the seasonal migration of peasants, by which, as in the case of Alpenalmwirtschaft of Switzerland and the Tyrol, a portion of the settled population takes the herds to mountain pasture in summer.

The Kurdish population, on the other hand, were nomads with distinct summer and winter camps. Their grazing lands and their migrating rights and territories were considered

as the domain of the large Kurdish confederations. They wintered either in villages of a settled branch of their own clan or in villages near the winter grazing areas, where they could exchange wool, cheese, and butter for shelter. Many of these groups lived in underground quarters for protection against the winter cold. On the fringes of the tribal confederations were small independent nomads, who were not strong enough to claim any permanent grazing grounds. Wandering continuously in search of grass, they wintered in various villages by trading their goods for fodder. Of course, their herds seldom reached more than the minimum necessary for survival.[22] Each of the nomadic confederations had villages of tribal members who, because of poverty, had become agriculturists. The population of these villages fluctuated constantly, since some nomads who had lost their animals had to turn to farming for survival. These villages never lost their tribal allegiance.

The clan formed the basic structure of the nomadic tribes of the khanate. The herding units generally consisted of five to ten tents.[23] Shopen averaged a figure of approximately 5.5 people per family.[24] These clan groups united in larger units during the yearly migrations and in times of war. The nomadic groups themselves were important not only for the economic wealth which they poured into the khanate (animal produce and handicrafts), but also for the cavalry forces they provided the khan. The structure of

these confederations lay in a political system identified by one author as Turkish. This system was structurally the most developed of the nomadic federations. There was an essential inequality among the tribal groups. Although each had its own chief, one tribe whose leader became the head of the confederation, dominated. As long as he demonstrated the capability of protecting the tribe's interest, he was obeyed.[25] Among the members of the leading clans there was a constant ebb and flow of power, which was used to the best advantage of the ruler.

Kurds

The Kurdish population (some 25,000) was divided by religious affiliation into three groups; the Sunni, the Shi'i, and the Yezidi.[26] The most powerful confederations were Sunni. These consisted of the three major groups of the Zilan, which dwarfed the remaining groups with its 2,000 families; the Jalali, 378 families; and the Biryuki, 277 families. Along with these were two smaller federations, the Radikanli, and a branch of the Qarachorli. Numerous smaller tribal groupings ranging in size from eight to seventy-two families roamed independently.

The mahals of Surmalu and Garni-basar were the main population centers for the Sunni Kurds. The Jalali summered in Surmalu and wintered in Garni-basar. The Zilan summered and wintered along the Aghridagh chain in Surmalu

and Darakend-parcheni. The Biryuki summered in Gogcheh mahal on the northern slopes of Ahrijeh in Gözal-dareh and Qaranligh and wintered in Sharur. The entire confederation of Zilan, along with numerous smaller tribes emigrated to the Ottoman Empire following the Russian conquest. Shopen lists the Mesr-kendli, 72 families; Ushaghli, 60 families; along with an indefinite number of the Jamadinli, Sakendli, Khalikhanli and Bilkhikhanli as also emigrating.[27] In general the Surmalu mahal suffered the greatest loss of nomads due to emigration.

The Shi'i Kurds were united into two major and three minor confederations. They were located almost exclusively in the Gogcheh mahal. The major group were the Qarachorli of 646 families, who were formed from various tribes, Hasanli, Qulakhanli, Shademanli, Sheylanli, Tahmasbli, 'Alianli, Bargoshat, Babali, Gulukchi, Galuji, Farukhanli, Hajjisamli, Sultani, Qolikhanli, and Bozli. These Turkified confederations wintered in Gogcheh mahal and Vedibasar in the areas of Ali-mehmet qeshlaqi, Vedi-suffla, and Chatkaran and summered in the mountains of Garni-basar and Gogcheh mahals. The second largest group was that of the Melli Kurds, 349 families, who shared the grazing grounds of the Qarachorli. The three smaller tribes were the Alikianli, Kolani, and the Pyusan, who apparently both wintered and summered in Gogcheh mahal. The final group of the Kurds were the Yezidis who were recorded by Shopen

to have been 67 families. According to him, the population of the Kurds by 1836 was reduced to some 847 families.[28]

TABLE II

Estimated Number of Kurds (All Sunni) Who Left the Khanate of Erevan in 1828[29]

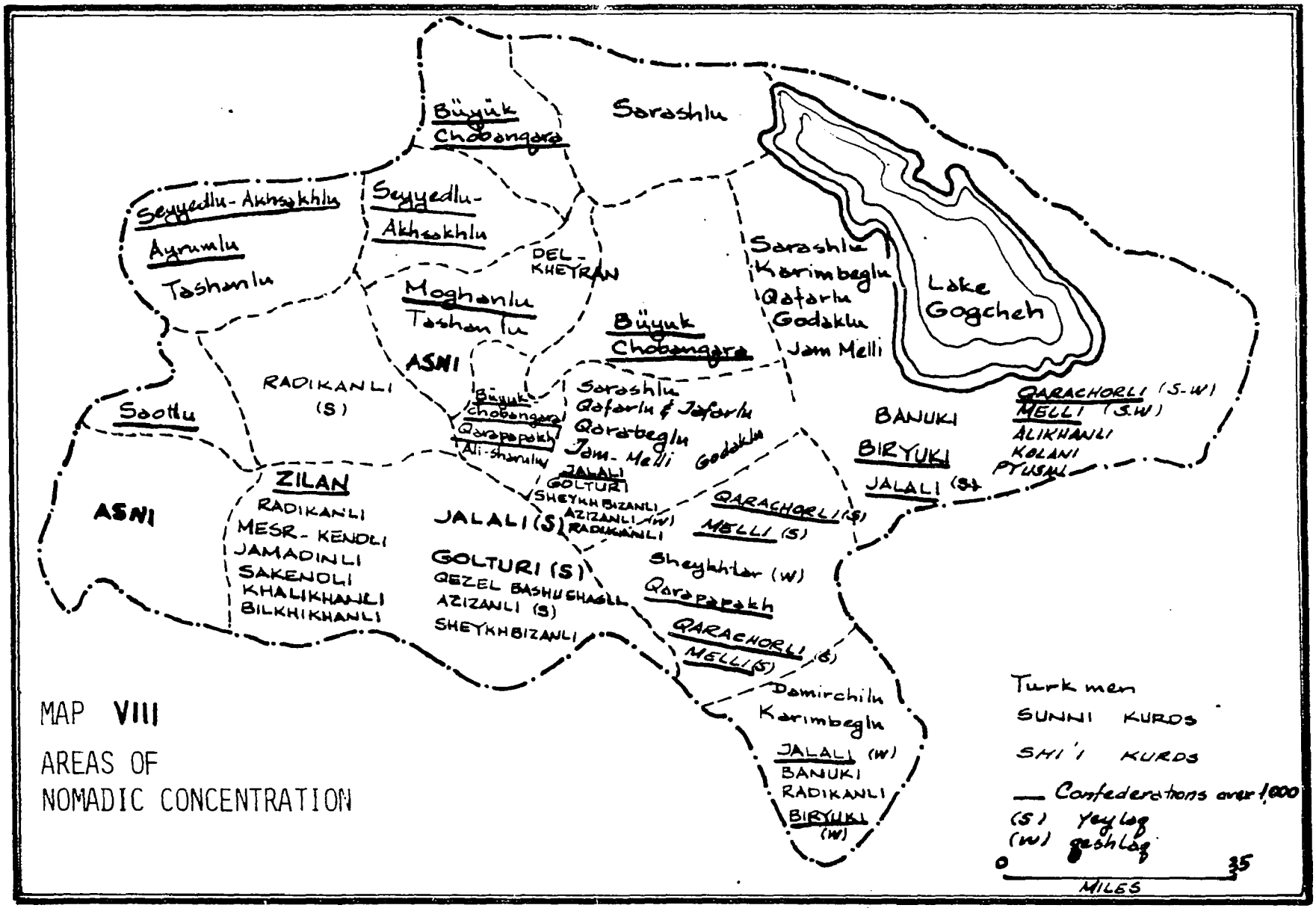
	Families	Total
Zilan	2,000	12,000
Mesr-kendli	72	400
Ushaghli	60	350
Asni, Jamadinli, Sakendli, Khalikhanli, Bilkhikhanli	for a combined total of 400 families	2,000
Total		14,750

There were also a group of nomads who did not belong to any specific religious affiliation, the gypsy nomads. The Mitrup group wintered in the village of Khajehparakh in the mahal of Zangi-basar, while the Karachi clan wintered in the settlement of Keshtak in the Sharur mahal.

TABLE III

The Russian Survey of Kurds in the Khanate of Erevan in 1829[30]

Sunni	Families	Male	Female	Total
Jalali	378	929	895	1,824
Biryuki	277	659	637	1,296
Radikanli	72	226	197	423
Qarachorli	20	67	73	140
Azizanli	19	38	42	80
Delkheyranli	10	33	30	63
Banuki	14	33	24	57
Golturi	5	16	22	38
Sheykhbizanli	7	16	16	32
Milani, Sibiki, Juniki, Chakemanli, Khakesanli	for a combined total of 8 families	13	12	25
Total	810	2,030	1,948	3,978
Shi'i				
Qarachorli	646	1,629	1,491	3,120
Melli	349	1,044	908	1,952
Pyusan	143	388	331	719
Kolani	63	204	185	389
Alikianli	45	129	126	255
Total	1,346	3,394	3,041	6,435
Yezidis	67	180	144	324



MAP VIII

AREAS OF
NOMADIC CONCENTRATION

The gypsies, consisting of 100 families, functioned as blacksmiths, veterinarians, and potion-makers. They travelled among the Kurds and Turkmen serving as a unique and valuable supplement to nomadic society.[31]

Turkmen

The Turkmen nomadic population (some 20,000) firmly controlled the marginal grazing lands in the north and central areas of the khanate. On the whole, the Turkmen were organized in slightly larger tribal groups and confederations than the Kurds. The Qarapapakh (black-hats) with 4,600 people and the Ayrumlu with 3,500 were the largest. Following them were the six confederations each with approximately 1,000 people. These were the Büyuk-chobanqara, the Saotlu, the Seyyedlu-Akhsakhlu, the Mughanlu, and the two Qajar tribes of Shahdelu and Sadaraklu.

The Qarapapakh shared the control of the grazing lands of Vedi-basar with the Shi'i Kurdish groups of the Qarachorli and Melli. However, the Turkmen fully controlled the area of Zangi-basar and the strategic northern mahals of Talin, Aparan, Seyyedli-Akhsakhli, Darachichak, and Qerq-bulagh. The Ayrumlu were located in Talin. The Seyyedlu-Akhsakhlu prevailed in the mahal which was called after them, Seyyedli-Akhsakhli. The Büyuk-chobanqara apparently had all the grazing rights to Qerq-bulagh and

Aparan but shared Zangi-basar with the Qarapapakh. The Sarashlu inhabited the northern region of Gogcheh mahal (on the northern slopes of the Aghmaghan chain); the plain of Ahrijeh; and Darachichak. The Karim-beglu, the Qafarlu, the Godaklu, and the Jam-melli concentrated in the Gogcheh mahal, west of the lake, while the Saotlu were entrusted with the protection of the border mahal of Saotlin. The khan delegated each of the crucial border areas to a chief appointed by him from among the leading Turkmen clans.[32]

One of the major problems of any post-Seljuq Persian ruler was the control of the nomadic population. Firm and competent rulers were able to keep their nomad followers from harassing the peasantry by sending them on raiding expeditions and paying them various subsidies. The same method was utilized successfully by Hoseyn Qoli Khan, who exempted the nomads from certain taxes; drafted them into the cavalry; and assigned them the task of raiding the neighboring borders. Furthermore the Shi'i and Sunni population of the Khanate of Erevan lived in relative harmony. No religious or ethnic conflicts are reported within the borders of the khanate. The Kurd and Turkish nomads were assigned distinct winter and summer quarters and were not permitted to infringe on either the settled villages or on each others' territory.

TABLE IV

The Russian Survey on the Number of Turkmen in the Khanate of Erevan in 1829[33]

	Families	Male	Female	Total
Qarapapakh	840	2,662	1,957	4,619
Ayrumlu	631	1,868	1,616	3,484
Seyyedlu-Akhsakhlu	311	953	801	1,754
Büyuk-chobanqara	159	540	448	988
Mughanlu	200	550	550	1,100
Saotlu	160	517	487	1,004
Shahdelu	164	546	449	995
Sadaraklu	149	504	436	940
Qafarlu	98	333	319	652
Tashanlu	124	295	270	565
Sarashlu	90	289	252	541
Karim-beglu	55	199	158	357
Chakhirlu	57	169	139	308
Sheykhlar	34	166	166	332
Damirchilu	31	122	106	228
Godaklu/a part of Karim-beglu	24	81	77	158
J'afarlu/a part of Qafarlu	16	43	39	82
'Ali-sharurlu	12	43	32	75
Gurki-bashlu	13	36	36	72
Qarabaghlu	12	36	32	68
Jam-melli	10	37	28	65
		Total		18,287

NOTES

1. The term Persian means those who were in the ruling hierarchy and not necessarily the ethnic composition of that group. The men of the pen were generally of Persian origin, while the men of the sword were Turkmen chiefs as was the Qajar dynasty. The Persian elite was a minority in the Khanate of Erevan.

2. Since the Armenians were basically the only Christian group in the khanate, the terms Armenian and Christian will be used interchangeably. Georgians, Jews, Circassians, Russians, and various small groups of different Caucasian people lived in the khanate but their numbers do not form any statistical significance.

3. It has to be noted that no accurate census of any Caucasian region exists prior to the 1897 census.

4. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 543-600, lists the settled population figures in each village.

5. Ibid., p. 541.

6. It was common practice for the various governors to bring close associates and relatives to their assigned provinces and give them positions and income for loyalty and protection from enemies.

7. G. Sjoberg, The Preindustrial City (New York, 1965), pp. 11, 157-160.

8. The traveller Ker-Porter estimates the city of Erevan to have had 15,000 people, Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 197. The Russian survey counted 10,000, which indicates that the remainder must have left or perished.

9. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 635-636.

10. The consistency of the ratio between male and female and family size after the war follows the pattern established by the demographic analyses of the traditional societies of the Near East (i.e., family size of five to six, with males predominant) indicates no major population shifts.

11. The traveller Morier estimates the settled population of able-bodied men (15-50 years of age) in the khanate to have been 18,700; multiplying the figure by four (to include the women; the children; and the aged), he estimates the total population to have been 74,800 people which is not far from the projected number, Morier, op. cit., II, 320.

12. Shopen, op. cit., p. 541.

13. Ibid., p. 542; H. Tumanian, "Hayastani nakhasovetakan shrdjani azgabnakchutiune," Patmabanasirakan handes (4, 1965), 54.

14. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 530-536; M. J. Shukur, Nazari be tarikh-e Azarbayjan (Tehran, 1970), pp. 16, 244.

15. F. Barth, Nomads of South Persia (Boston, 1961), p. 13, quotes a figure of less than a hundred, while T. R. Stauffer, "The Economics of Nomadism," The Middle East Journal, XIX (1965), 291, suggests a figure of forty.

16. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 635-636.

17. Ibid., pp. 643-644.

18. As can be observed some minor dislocations have occurred in one of the mahals. There are no figures as to the number of Muslim people inhabiting the mahal of Aparan before the last Russo-Persian war. The detailed totals on this chart do not represent the accurate number of people living in each mahal during the Persian administration but represent the totals of the Russian survey collected by oral interviews and hearsay evidence.

19. In general the Turkmen tribes attached the suffix lu and the Kurds li following the name of their respective confederation.

20. D. Johnson, The Nature of Nomadism (Chicago, 1969), p. 15.

21. Ibid., p. 156; Shopen, op. cit., pp. 519-520.

22. See note 15 of this chapter.

23. Shopen, op. cit., p. 523.

24. Ibid., p. 640.

25. W. Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers (Leiden, 1965), p. 69.

26. The name of a Kurdish tribal group which had peculiar religious belief; a mixture of Islam, Judaism, Christianity, and ancient characteristics such as angel-worship. For more details see Gibb and Kramer, op. cit., pp. 641-645.

27. Shopen, op. cit., p. 529.

28. Ibid., pp. 528-529.

29. Ibid., p. 541.

30. Ibid., pp. 526-527.

31. Ibid., pp. 522-525.

32. Ibid., pp. 531-537.

33. Ibid., p. 521.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARMENIAN POPULATION

Eastern Armenia, until the mid-fourteenth century, had an Armenian majority.[1] Despite devastations, particularly during the wars between the Byzantines and the Seljuqs in the eleventh century, small Armenian principalities maintained some political independence and their Christian faith. In fact, it was only after the many campaigns of Timur at the close of the fourteenth century, that the area became permanently settled by the Turkmen, and Islam became the dominant faith.[2] For the remaining Armenians in the region this was the beginning of direct foreign rule.

By the nineteenth century the Armenian population of Eastern Armenia was faced with the harsh treatment of the local khans, particularly Mehdi Qoli Khan, the governor of Erevan. The secular chiefs of the Armenians of Erevan, Melik (chief) Abraham and Yuzbashi Gabriel, decided to abandon the city. Together with two hundred families, Abraham and Gabriel fled to Qara-kilisa, in the Pambak region, seeking Russian protection.[3]

The appointment of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar to the governorship of Erevan signaled a new era for the Armenian

population. His organized administration and benevolent policy not only stopped the periodic exoduses but encouraged new settlers into the area. There are no figures as to the number of Armenians who resided in the khanate prior to the tenure of its last governor. The post-1807 figures compiled by Shopen, with the help of the Russian survey, are not totally accurate. Shopen's figures on the number of Armenians residing in the khanate include the many thousands of Armenians who immigrated from Persia and the Ottoman Empire following the wars of 1826-1829. By listing the newly arrived Armenians in separate columns, Shopen himself makes it possible, however, to correct this discrepancy.[4] Thus by deducting those from the total, the Armenian population during Persian rule can be estimated.

Armenian historians, quoting the post-1830 figures, estimate the Armenians to have been between 30 and 40 percent of the population.[5] In reality, the Armenian element apparently formed 20 percent (20,000), while the Muslim population approached 80 percent (80,000) of the total.[6] In any case, the Armenian population at no time then formed a majority in the khanate of Erevan. Although the Russian survey indicates the existence of an Armenian majority in four mahals, there is no substantive evidence of that being so during the Persian administration. Karbibasar mahal with the Armenian ecclesiastical center seems to have been the only district where the Armenians had a

TABLE V

The Number of Armenians in the Khanate of Erevan in 1828

	Families	Male	Female	Total
Erevan	567	1,220	1,149	2,369
Qerq-bulagh	262	743	653	1,396
Zangi-basar	133	305	298	603
Garni-basar	34	70	75	145
Surmalu	935	3,052	2,840	5,892
Verdi-basar	2	9	6	15
Darakend-Parcheni	1	3	2	5
Sharur[7]	-	-	-	-
Saotlin	-	-	-	-
Talin	74	225	191	416
Seyyedli-Akhsakhli	6	16	12	28
Sardarabad	469	1,640	1,574	3,214
Karbi-basar	897	2,788	2,501	5,290
Aparan	11	29	29	58
Darachichak	92	298	254	552
Gogcheh	15	52	38	80
Total	3,498	10,450	9,623	20,073

majority in Persian times. By 1830, however, with the departure of a number of Persians, Turko-Tatars, and Kurds (some 30,000 people) and the immigration of a large number of Armenians (30,000) into the Khanate of Erevan (from Persia and the Ottoman Empire), the Armenian population rose appreciably and numerically matched the Muslim population.[8] It was only after the Russo-Turkish wars of 1855-1856 and 1877-1878 (which brought more Armenians from the Ottoman Empire) that the Armenians established a solid majority in the area. Even then, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the city of Erevan had a Muslim majority.[9]

At the time of the last khan the Armenians of Erevan were organized into a separate group under the leadership of an elected or appointed Armenian official given the title melik. These meliks were responsible for collecting the taxes from the Armenians and the gypsies of the city (for a combined total of 470 tomans in 1825), for judging civil arguments between Armenians, and for overseeing the secular affairs of the community.[10] During the last years of the tenure of Hoseyn Qoli Khan, Melik Sahak Aqamal was the appointed secular head of the Armenians. Every Persian new year (March 20-21, first day of spring), Melik Sahak presented the khan with thirty tomans collected from the Armenians residing in the city of Erevan. The melik had an assistant, who at the time of Melik Sahak was Parsegh

Kegham. The Armenian chiefs received tuyuls in exchange for their services. Melik Sahak had the tuyuls to the village of Ahrijeh and half of the village of Illar in Qerq-bulagh, and the villages of Arzalian, Dalular, and Gümish in the mahal of Darachichak. Parsegh Kegham had the area of Bzhni and Gog-kilisa in Darachichak as his tuyuls.[11]

The Armenians of Erevan lived in the quarters of Shahri (260 families for a total of 1,088 people) and Tapeh-bashi (271 families for a total of 1,281 people). No Armenians resided in the Demir-bulagh quarter. Disregarding some exclusive professions, the artisans of Erevan, on the whole, were not divided on religious lines.[12] The Russian survey lists 1,436 Muslims and 468 Armenians as artisans in the city of Erevan.[13] This indicates that the Armenian population of the city, although five times smaller than that of the Muslim population, had a greater percentage in the professional groups of the city.[14]

Close to 90 percent of the Armenians in the khanate were agriculturists, some of whom also engaged in nomadism. Over 80 percent of the Armenian peasants were concentrated in the mahals of Qerq-bulagh, Surmalu, Sardarabad, and Karbi-basar. The villages in Karbi-basar all belonged to the Armenian Church. The others, administered by Armenian officials, belonged either to the state, the church, or to a private holder. According to the tax rolls of Mirza

Isma'il, the Armenian peasant was assessed as much taxes as a Muslim peasant. This is substantiated by the new year's gift collected from the Armenians of Surmalu and Zangi-basar which corresponded to the size of their community and that of the Muslim group.[15] The number of animals, in proportion to the size of the population, was also equal between Muslim and Armenian.[16] The artisans in the rural areas were primarily Armenian. In the mahals Armenians even dominated the professions which, in the city, were controlled by the Muslims.[17]

Although the Armenians and Muslims, particularly in the city of Erevan, had numerous contacts during their various daily activities, they essentially remained apart. The Armenian Church, however, was the major exception. The Persians recognized the supreme patriarch of the Armenians, the Catholicos, as the religious and political head of the Armenian community. The Catholicos attended all religious matters concerning the Armenians. He called assemblies, issued decrees, blessed the muron (holy chrism), oversaw the affairs of the various dioceses, and attended to the property of the church. Part of the income of the church was spent on public welfare such as schools, hospitals, orphanages, and feeding the poor.[18] The Armenian Church thus not only assumed much of the responsibilities of a secular government but was also drawn into the political arena of the Qajar state. It is, therefore, imperative

to include a section on the Armenian Church as it affected Armeno-Persian relations.

Christianity became the state religion of Armenia at the beginning of the fourth century (ca. 301) when King Trdat (Tiridates) III of the Arshakuni (Arsacid) dynasty and his court were converted by Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Illuminator).[19] The pagan center of Vagharshapat became the Holy See of Echmiadzin; Gregory became its first Catholicos and was endowed with the rank of prince of the land with all the privileges therein.[20] By the beginning of the fifth century, with the creation of the Armenian alphabet by Mesrob Mashtots, a body of Armenian scriptures and historical writings had been developed. The Armenian Apostolic Church, along with the Armenian language, became the mainstay for the preservation of the Armenian people and culture.[21]

Following the political fortunes of Armenia, the Holy See moved from Echmiadzin to Dvin in 484. From then on whenever the political center would shift to a new site the See would usually follow.[22] During the political upheavals, when the Armenian dynasties would fail, the church would temporarily assume the role of unifier and leader. This was especially true after the Muslims emerged as the dominant power in the Near East; for Islam recognized the representatives of certain religious groups as the leaders of their people.[23] It is not surprising, therefore, that

when Cilicia, the last location of an Armenian dynasty, fell to the Mamluks (1375), the church assumed the permanent leadership of the nation.

By the fifteenth century, assassinations, bribery, and extortions assailed the church and forced the Armenian clergy and civil dignitaries to move the See from Cilicia. The choice of the new site, however, started a conflict. The patriarchate of Aghtamar and the Siunik Monastery, each with their own factions, vied to become the site of the See. Others contemplated the reestablishment of Echmiadzin, which was not only the original site but also enjoyed relatively greater security under the Qara Qoyunlu domination.[24] In 1431, the Echmiadzin faction had gained an advantage: Amir Rostam, an offspring of the Orbelians, who held the important post of commander and advisor in the service of Iskandar Qara Qoyunlu (1420-1438), under the guise of a private sale (Rostam refused to accept payment after the negotiations were completed) to Grigor Jalalbegian, the Archbishop of Artaz (Maku), presented the Armenian Church with seven villages in the Karbi-basar mahal.[25] Gregory then confirmed the lands as vaqf (waqf/endowment) of the monastery at Echmiadzin (saderin va varedin be vank-e Uch-kilisa vaqf-e sahih va Shar'i nemud). The conditions of the vaqf were that the lands could not become private property, their proceeds were not for private use but for those who served the church at Echmiadzin,

and all who benefited from the vaqf were to pray for Rostam.[26] The above vaqf became an important defense of the rights of the Armenian Church in Eastern Armenia. To confirm its legality, the document was witnessed by Taj Ahmad of Nakhchevan and Qazi (qadi/judge) Zammaneddin Ansari of the Shari'a (religious) Court of the province of Chukhur Sa'ad.[27] There is no indication why Amir Rostam decided to donate such a vast estate to the church. It is possible that rather than seeing the property confiscated, as usually happened to those who fell from favor, he gave it to the church with the understanding that he could utilize it in time of need.

Finally, in May 1441, a general synod of seven hundred members, religious and lay, assembled at Echmiadzin and, over the objections of the Catholicos in Sis, approved the transfer of the See from Sis in Cilicia to its original site, after an absence of almost a millennium.[28] Eastern Armenia, however, soon became the battleground between the Qara-Qoyunlu, the Aq Qoyunlu, and the Ottomans. Then when the Safavids replaced the nomadic dynasties of Eastern Armenia, the area was caught in the wars between the Ottomans and the Persians. Large numbers of Armenians were forcibly removed from the area and the Holy See suffered great economic losses. In the seventeenth century, however, the position was reversed when Persian fortunes rose under the able rule of Shah 'Abbas the Great (1589-

1629). The Shah favored his Armenian subjects and gave them privileges enabling Echmiadzin to recoup some of its losses.[29] The power of the Catholicosate grew when the Safavid monarchs entrusted it not only with the collection of taxes from the Armenian subjects but other privileges as well. For example, Shah 'Abbas, in 1617, gave Catholicos Melikset permission to collect taxes so that he could pay the one hundred toman annual pishkesh (gift).[30] It is reported that the Catholicoses had to resort to Persian troops for its collection.[31] Although this tax was officially ended in 1629 by the order of Shah Safi (1629-1642), the church still collected various sums from the Armenian community.[32] When the local khans decided to interfere and usurp this privilege, the monarch, Safi, decreed that the Catholicos was the supreme authority over his people and had the power of determining and collecting the revenue (1638).[33] Subsequent Safavid rulers, namely, Shah 'Abbas II (1642-1666), Shah Soleyman (1666-1694), Shah Soltan Hoseyn (1694-1722), and Shah Tahmasb II (1722-1732), increased the power of the church by giving it full religious and civil authority not only in Persian Armenia but also in Azarbayjan, southern Persia, the Caucasus, and the Caspian region.[34] The Armenian Catholicos even had the right to bar Catholic missionaries from Eastern Armenia.[35] The Catholicoses also received permission to travel freely all over Persian territories without paying road tolls,

which facilitated the control over the affairs of their people.[36] The Ottomans followed suit and acknowledged the Catholicoses at Echmiadzin by presents and certificates of investiture.[37]

The Holy See invested most of its capital in land, the basic source of power in a pre-industrial society. By the end of the seventeenth century, the church had bought, rented, received in lieu of loans and donations, inherited, and placed into cultivation large areas in Eastern Armenia. For example, when peasants of the village of Oshakan borrowed money from Echmiadzin they promised in a written note to give the church double the amount of the produce due until the loan was repaid.[38] Since cash was considered more valuable than produce, the peasants had to pay more in the end than they had borrowed. Sometimes a community of peasants wishing to obtain the protection of Echmiadzin, voluntarily placed its land as vaqf of the church.[39]

The Afghan occupation of Isfahan and the fall of the Safavids in the eighteenth century created an instability which weakened Echmiadzin politically and economically. Although Nader Shah (1736-1747) cancelled the jiz'ya (polltax) paid by the Armenians, his policy of disrupting the vaqf system, recruiting peasants for his campaigns, and settling Armenian families in Mashhad deteriorated the economy of the church.[40] It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that Echmiadzin regained

some of its previous economic position. Two factors were responsible: the reign of Karim Khan (1750-1779) of the Zand dynasty, who issued various farmans (decree) enabling the church to repossess some of the usurped properties; and the election of Simeon Erevantsi (1763-1780) to the throne of Echmiadzin.[41] Simeon was one of the most energetic patriarchs of the modern era. He organized the property of the See by an exact cadastral survey, whereby the landed interests of the church were finally brought under control. The Catholicos organized a religious college, established printing at the monastery, and erected a paper mill. It was Simeon, who created the patriarchal archives and revised the liturgical calendar.[42] In 1768 he went to the Shari'a Court and with the help of the vaqf-nameh (document of endowment) of Grigor Jalalbegian reinstated the villages of Ashtarak and Moghni as the property of the Holy See. Most of the lands of the church had been usurped by the khans of Erevan, who had forced the previous Catholicoses (Hakob Shemakhatsi, for example) to share the church property with them. Simeon spent much of his reign in Shari'a Courts and petitioning Karim Khan to restore the usurped territories. By the end of his reign (1780) Echmiadzin had not only regained most of the previous areas, but had also acquired new property as well.[43]

The successor of Simeon, Ghukas (Luke) of Garin (1780-1799), formed a permanent council of six bishops to assist the Catholicos. Ghukas' reign coincided with the rise of pro-Russian, pro-Ottoman, and pro-Persian factions each vying to control Echmiadzin. The next quarter of a century, therefore, was to be a troublesome period for the Armenian Church.

After the death of Catholicos Ghukas (1799) the council of bishops and other dignitaries elected Archbishop Minas, but due to his poor eyesight had to seek another candidate.[44] Their second choice, Archbishop Daniel Surmari, recently elected the patriarch of Constantinople, was respected by all. Although this was a victory for the pro-Turkish factions the other groups were sure that the Armenian community of Constantinople would not allow their newly elected patriarch to leave the city.[45] Another possibility, Archbishop Efrem of Tsoragegh, was accepted by the pro-Persian faction but was rejected by the pro-Russian group, who insisted on the nomination of Archbishop Hovsep Arghutian (Iosef Argutinskii).[46] There was no doubt in anyone's mind that Arghutian was pro-Russian and that his election was opposed by the Persians.[47] During the long debate the name of Archbishop David Ghurghanian (Enegatsi) was mentioned; since he himself took part in the deliberations, an open verbal struggle ensued when some opposed his nomination.[48] After four

days the electors finally agreed on two candidates, Archbishops Daniel and Efrem, giving Daniel the first choice and keeping Archbishop Efrem in reserve (in case the hierarchy at Constantinople did not agree to Daniel's departure). This was clearly a victory for the non-Russian factions, who immediately dispatched a delegation to Constantinople.[49]

In the meantime Archbishop David, however, and the pro-Russian faction intrigued against the choices of the council.[50] David, however, was brought over to the non-Russian alliance when he was promised the patriarchate of Constantinople if Daniel accepted the Catholicate.[51] The pro-Russian faction continued to back Archbishop Arghutian whose family had been actively pro-Russian and who at that time was the prelate of all the Armenians in the Russian Empire.[52] The Russians, who had recently entered Georgia as allies and protectors (1797), and who would eventually annex it, hoped to conquer all of the Caucasus. An alliance with the supreme patriarch of all the Armenians could prove helpful. A belated delegation representing the Armenian community of Tiflis and headed by Archbishop Hovhannes arrived at Echmiadzin. Finding out the choices for candidates, they prevailed on the council to place the name of Archbishop Arghutian second, moving Efrem into the third position. A messenger was rushed to Constantinople with the recent changes.[53] In

the meantime, Archbishop Efrem was pressured into renouncing his candidacy in favor of Archbishop Arghutian.[54]

Subsequent events kept the conflicts alive. Bishop Nerses of Ashtarak, witnessing the events at Echmiadzin, wrote to Patriarch Daniel about the controversies in the Khanate of Erevan.[55] The patriarch declined to involve himself in such a chaotic situation, so when the heads of the Armenian community of Constantinople raised objections to his leaving his post, Daniel bowed to their wishes. Although Archbishop David and the anti-Russian group advanced their own causes, their efforts were stymied, for Echmiadzin nominated Archbishop Arghutian, whose name was second on the list and who was elected Catholicos.[56] Ottoman objections were quieted down by the Russian envoy to Constantinople, while the Khan of Erevan was ignored altogether.[57] Archbishop Arghutian arrived in Tiflis from New Nakhchevan (Rostov-on-Don) and was on his way to Echmiadzin when he became ill and died (1801) without receiving consecration.[58]

Once more the Holy See had to decide anew amidst factional chaos. The assembly at Echmiadzin once again decided to approach Patriarch Daniel. Demanding a new election, Archbishop David protested, but Daniel was elected over his objections (1801).[59] David then bribed Mohammad Khan of Erevan to aid him become Catholicos. Before Daniel could receive consecration David, with the

khan and some members of the monastery at Echmiadzin, usurped the See in 1801.[60] Protests were of no avail and David, backed by corrupt khans, ruled the See for six years. In 1807 the last of the weak governors was recalled by Fath 'Ali Shah and a new khan, Hoseyn Qoli, was sent to Erevan. The new governor, a capable administrator, decided to honor the wishes of the Armenian community regarding the choice of Catholicos. He also wanted the Catholicos to be indebted to him. He, therefore, helped the synod at Echmiadzin to depose David. Daniel was finally enthroned as Catholicos but unfortunately died the following year (1808).[61]

Once more David intrigued to regain the throne; this time, however, he promised to cooperate with the Russians if they supported him. But the assembly and the pro-Persian faction voted for Archbishop Efrem, who although thought to be pro-Persian was in reality more neutral than any other candidate and had asked the Russians and the Ottomans not to become involved in the affairs of the Armenian Church. The foreign powers accepted the choice of the council and were happy to have a relatively neutral man in the post (1809).[62]

The years of strife and factionalism had taken their toll, for, upon ascending the throne of Catholicos, Efrem realized the disastrous economic condition of the See. After the death of Ghukas, great debts had been amassed,

especially during the misadministration of David, who had to repay his Persian masters. Daniel's advanced age and brief rule could not cure the bankruptcy of the church and the task was left to Efrem. The debt of Echmiadzin to various Persian dignitaries, merchants, and officials amounted to 46,000 tomans, which equalled the total annual tax of a small province.[63] Although Echmiadzin received some 25,000 tomans annually from the Armenian communities in Russia, Ottoman Empire, Persia, and India, much of that had to be spent to pay the interest and debts of the past administration.[64] The income from the landed property that had remained; from the one hundred shops attached to the bazar of Echmiadzin (which brought two to three hundred tomans rent annually); and from the tithe paid by the Armenians went to support the religious community at Echmiadzin and the Khanate of Erevan.[65]

Efrem's able leadership, however, started a revival in the church. During the Russian invasion of Erevan in 1808, the church, pledged to neutrality, did not aid the Russian forces. This pleased Hoseyn Khan to such an extent that the Armenians were given extensive privileges. The Armenian Church was free to perform weddings, services, celebrate religious feasts, and ring church bells without any hindrance from the Muslims.[66] The Armenian churchmen were allowed to travel freely without the customary payment of the road tolls.[67] Armenian vaqfs were treated with

almost the same respect as Muslim vaqfs. The church was allowed to repay its debts slowly, creditors were told to be lenient and those harassing the Armenians were reprimanded. For example, in 1810, when Heydar 'Ali Beg infringed on church property in the village of Oshakan, the khan immediately ordered him not to interfere in the tax collection of the area and pay back whatever he had taken from there.[68]

The Armenians of the Khanate of Erevan, compared to the Armenians in other parts of Persia, on the whole, were given a favorable position. The government of Erevan assessed taxes by population and not by religious affiliation. The taxes were assessed and collected by Armenian representatives. Armenians were allowed almost as many religious buildings (seven churches to eight mosques) as their Muslim neighbors in a city where they were a five to one minority.[69]

Soviet Armenian historians, envisioning the Persian period as an "occupation" and the Russian conquest as a "liberation," tend to view, with much justification, the Muslim rule in Armenia as particularly harsh for the Christian population. Unfortunately their negative views include the well-administered years as well. A source on the history of Erevan, for example, citing a contemporary Armenian writer, Abovian, accuses Hoseyn Qoli Khan of being cruel toward the Armenian population.[70] Further

research, however, indicates that the author has been mistaken. In examining the same page of Abovian's work cited by the author, a totally different statement emerges,

> It is possible that Erevan had not seen such a kind, honest, and conscientious man like the sardar, but just as he was kind hearted, his brother was cruel and evil; fear of whom made everything tremble.[71]

It is obvious that the Armenian historian in his general condemnation of the Persian rule in Armenia has also included the favorable Armenian account.

The fact is that between 1809 and 1811 both Hoseyn Qoli Khan and 'Abbas Mirza tried very hard to aid the church hierarchy in establishing order and straightening their economic affairs. Those officials who attempted to extort money from the Armenian clergy were either punished or removed from office.[72] Catholicos Efrem was treated royally both by Hoseyn Khan and 'Abbas Mirza. Both sent gifts, khal'at (robe of office), and letters of investiture and welcomed him as the "Caliph of the Armenian nation."[73]

The major revealing aspect of Armeno-Persian relations, however, is an 1811 document which describes the Shari'a Court proceedings between the Armenian Church (plaintiff) and a Persian official (defendent). The manuscript is important in that it is one of the few available sources on the treatment of Christians in Persian religious courts. The most interesting aspect of the following ruling

is that the Armenians received a favorable judgment and that the Muslim religious court went against its co-religionist. Furthermore, the number of prominent Muslim witnesses on the behalf of the Armenian Church indicates that there was an amiable relation between the two people. The ruling of the Shari'a Court states,

> In the month of Rajab 1226 [July, 1811], Nerses the representative of his holiness Efrem, the Caliph of the See of Uch-kilisa, came to the Shari'a Court of the city of Erevan to argue the case of the land of Chay Qatran in Vagharshapat, which he claims belongs to Uch-kilisa and was usurped by the late Mirza J'afar. He [Nerses] has brought witnesses with him to testify to the accuracy of his claim and this court after hearing the witnesses recognizes that the land belongs to Uch-kilisa and not the heirs of Mirza J'afar.
>
> The witnesses:
>
> Mehdi Isma'il, resident of Vagharshapat, witnessed that Caliph Ghukas had made the property a vaqf of the church as is known by him and others.
>
> Karbala'i Rahim, son of Jalal Khan, witnessed that the above land was always Armenian and belonged to Uch-kilisa.
>
> Farman 'Ali witnessed that Mirza J'afar had told his father [Farman 'Ali's father] that the Caliph of the Armenians had rented the area to him and that he had not given it back after the death of the caliph.
>
> Aqa Askar witnessed that the above lands belonged to Uchkilisa, for since the days of Caliph Simeon the horses of Uch-kilisa pastured there.
>
> Pir Aqa witnessed that he knew the land belonged to the Armenian Church and was vaqf property.
>
> Karbala'i Aqa witnessed that the land was vaqf.
>
> Mehdi J'afar, son of Soleyman Aqa, witnessed that the above lands belonged to Uch-kilisa.
>
> Karbala'i Karim of the Shahri district of the city of Erevan witnessed that the aforementioned lands belonged to the church.

> Karbala'i Baqer also testified to the above. So did Aqa Abdollah, son of Aqa Hoseyn of the Shahri district.
>
> Javad Khan witnessed that the above lands belonged to Hoseyn 'Ali Khan, whose wife donated it to Caliph Simeon a long time ago and that Simeon later rented it to Mirza J'afar.
>
> Aqa 'Ali-akbar, son of Hajji Javad, resident of the fortress [of Erevan], witnessed that he knew the land to have been Uch-kilisa's, for once his father refused to use some of its dirt for construction claiming that since it was vaqf it would bring bad luck and was haram [not legal] for private use.
>
> Aqa Hasan, Aqa Qovat, Aqa Johar Karim, Karbala'i Kazem of the Shahri district; Mehdi J'afar and Karbala'i 'Ali-nasr also from that district, all swore that the above land belonged to Uch-kilisa. (Seal of the Shari'a Court of the City of Erevan, Rajab, 1226)[74]

'Abbas Mirza also responded favorably and, after the Russian retreat from Erevan in 1808, came to Echmiadzin, had his sword blessed by the Catholicos, promised him and Archbishop Nerses, who was appointed by Efrem as his secretary and assistant, that all previous farmans and privileges (dating back to the Safavids) would be honored and that he would personally protect the Armenians.[75] This action of 'Abbas Mirza began some of the problems for the Persian Armenian community. Hoseyn Qoli Khan, who considered himself the sole ruler of the region, who was instrumental in the removal of David and the beneficial treatment of the church, and who mistrusted 'Abbas Mirza, felt that the Catholicos and the Armenians should be answerable to him and no one else. Although the Shah had given his khan full authority in the region, this was deemed unnecessary by the heir apparent, who disliked the khan and who con-

sidered himself to be responsible for the important strategic area of Erevan, so close to the Russian armies in Tiflis and his own capital in Tabriz. The Armenian Church thus had to contend with two quarreling military chiefs of Persia. After the Persian defeat by the Russians and the Treaty of Golestan (1813) conditions worsened. The pro-Russian attitude of most of the Armenians in the Caucasus angered many Persians, particularly Hasan, brother of Hoseyn Khan, who did not trust the Armenian population of Erevan.[76] The position of the church further deteriorated, when Archbishop Nerses of Ashtarak, fearing that the Erevan administration would eventually abandon its support of the church, left for Tiflis (1815), where he openly joined the pro-Russian forces and where in the early 1820's he was to organize Armenian volunteer units for the conquest of Eastern Armenia.[77]

The Khan of Erevan retaliated by abandoning his customary protection of the church. The debtors and opportunists began to take advantage of the precarious position of the church. The khan, who up to then had restrained his brother from harassing Armenian villages now ignored his actions so that some communities began to feel the pinch of the Muslim whip.[78] The leniency toward the debts and disputed property of the church also disappeared. The following is a sample of the turn of the tide,

> Hoseyn Khan Sardar to Efrem Catholicos of Uch-kilisa . . . After I received your letter which was delivered by Mirza Abdol J'afar, I have decided to lower your debt of five hundred tomans to four hundred. This is because I have great respect for you. The debt has to be paid immediately. Written in the year 1231 [1816]. (Seal of Hoseyn Khan, Sardar of Erevan)[79]

> From Hoseyn Qoli Khan Sardar to Efrem Catholicos residing in Uch-kilisa, regarding the village of Chay Qatran . . . It is true that 405 parcels of this village belong to Uch-kilisa; however, the land it not vaqf as claimed but in form of tuyul. Since the state has invested a large sum in this property, it has to receive its bahreh [share] and therefore only a part of the bahreh, not to exceed two hundred kharvar of wheat, can be collected by Uch-kilisa;[80] the remainder of the produce belongs to the treasury. Written in the year 1231 [1816]. (Seal of the Khan of Erevan)[81]

It has to be noted that the scale of these periodic harassments was not so great as to disrupt the organized administration or the well-being of the khanate or of the entire Armenian community; nevertheless, it hurt enough Armenians to a point that, when eventually the Russian forces invaded some of them, including the clergy, aided the enemy.[82] This was certainly in contrast with the events of 1808 when, with few exceptions, most Armenians remained neutral and even aided the Persian resistance.

In a period of five years the Armenian Church lost a great amount of landed property. Debtors gathered at the doors of the monastery and the Catholicos was forced to sell (illegally) or relinquish (in the form of usurpation) vaqf property. Table VI lists the property of Echmiadzin in the year 1821 which is certainly in contrast

with the wealth of the church at the time of the Catholicos Simeon.[83]

Faced with the threat of losing all the church property, Efrem wrote to Fath 'Ali Shah to find a solution. In a document dated 1821, Fath 'Ali Shah instructed 'Abbas Mirza to put the debts of Uch-kilisa in order and to forbid the debtors from claiming vaqf property.[84] 'Abbas Mirza must have written to Hoseyn Qoli Khan, for the khan wrote to Efrem that he had ordered his men to refrain from extortions.[85] Yet apparently little was done because the letters continued to flow for a full year.[86] Efrem finally decided to save the remainder of the estates by travelling throughout his domain; Russia, and the Ottoman Empire, to collect money for Echmiadzin. He acted at the suggestion of both the khan and the prince, who procured the necessary travel permits.[87] When he reached Qarabagh (in Russian territory, after the Treaty of Golestan), however, Efrem suddenly decided to stay, informing the Holy See that he was in exile (1822). It is very possible that the collection trip was just an excuse to leave the Persian domain and save the property of the church; for as long as Efrem was alive and in exile, no other Catholicos could have been elected; without a Catholicos the clergy at Echmiadzin would refuse to acknowledge any debts, claiming that all documents were in the

TABLE VI

The Property of Echmiadzin in 1821

Land:	Vagharshapat (including the monastery of Echmiadzin) Oshakan, Mastara, Eghvard (one-fourth belonged to the divan),[88] Chay (an untilled piece of land in Qerq-bulagh).[89]
Gardens and Orchards:	21 (8 in the city of Erevan) which produced 207 kharvar of grapes and 240 vessels of wine.[90]
Mills:	15 (4 in Erevan and 4 in Ashtarak).
Produce in kharvars:[91]	wheat 40, barley 10, millet 15, rice 14, cotton 3, flax 4, sesame seeds 4½, green garden produce 6, hay 60.
Presses:	Oil presses produced 300 batman of sesame and 1,000 batman of flax oil.[92]
Water Rights:	One-half of the water of Karbi-chay via four irrigation canals; Shah-arkh, Inn-Arkh, Hajji babarkh, Kalderun-arkh. One canal from the Zangi-chay enough to water 300 kharvar of land.
Animals:[93]	Camels 5, horses 8, mules 6, asses 10, oxen 100, cattle 95, sheep and goats 900, pigs 60.[94]
Other Property:	Sev-vank on the island in Lake Gogcheh; Karmir-vank, Geghart, and Mogni vanks (monastery), all existed on a subsistant number of animals and produce collected from the lands belonging to the vanks or donated to them by the Armenians. Besides the seven churches in Erevan and the churches of St. Rhipsime and St. Gayane, there were other ancient holy sites, an important one of which was Khor-virab.

name of the Catholicos and that they had to wait for his return or the election of a new potentate.[95]

The Khan and the heir apparent both realized their gross mistake and asked Efrem either to return or resign.[96] Afraid of losing Armenian support and forcing Efrem into the same action as Nerses, the khan changed his policy and issued orders to relieve the church.[97] Although the next three years were relatively relaxed, various candidates approached both the khan and 'Abbas Mirza, and were told that the election of the Catholicos was an Armenian affair.[98] The two military commanders then devised a plan, which, if successful, might have solved most of their problems. They invited Nerses of Ashtarak to assume the responsibilities of the Catholicos. The political situation between Persia and Russia was tense (1825), and the Persians hoped for a friendly or at least a neutral Armenian population, especially if Nerses, who was the main instigator of anti-Persian feelings, would leave Tiflis and settle in Erevan.[99] Nerses answered that he might consider the offer on the condition that Echmiadzin would be taken away from the control of Erevan and put directly under the supervision of 'Abbas Mirza. He also demanded that the amount of the debt should be substantially reduced (Nerses claimed, with some justification, that most of the debt had been illegally procured) and repaid in small instalments.[100] Hoseyn Khan objected and spoke against these

demands. 'Abbas Mirza, on the other hand, advised his father to ignore the khan's council, since he obviously was against losing control of parts of the khanate, and to accept Nerses' conditions. Fath 'Ali Shah accepted his son's advice on the condition that Nerses ask the Russians to withdraw from the disputed areas (the territory between Shamshadil and Lake Gogcheh and the borders of Talesh).[101] The discussions continued for a while until the announcement of war (1826) shattered any hope for a solution.

Those who claim that the entire Armenian nation enthusiastically awaited their Russian "liberators" are inaccurate.[102] It is true that from the sixteenth century onward a number of Armenians had visualized an autonomous or independent Armenia and had sought aid from various individuals and governments; but the majority of Armenians, however, did not envision the reestablishment of the Armenian kingdom or any other form of nationalism and were mainly concerned with their immediate economic well-being.[103] As long as the conditions in the khanate were favorable, the Armenian population and the majority of their leaders continued to lead their quiet existence. Once those conditions were altered, however, a minority of Armenians were recruited by Russian promises and fought against the Persians. These Armenians who dreamed of autonomy or independence faced a rude awakening after the Russian conquest.[104]

NOTES

1. H. Manandian, Knnakan tesutiun hay zhoghovrdi patmutian, III (Erevan, 1952), 326-328.

2. G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (London, 1966), p. 177.

3. Akty, op. cit., II (1868), 605.

4. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 637-638.

5. A. S. Hambarian, "Arevelian Hayastani tntesakan zargatsume rusastanin miatsumits hedo," Lraber (11, 1968), 21-22; Kh. H. Avdalbegian, Hoghayin hartse Arevelian Hayastanum, 1801-1830 tt. (Erevan, 1959), pp. 18-19; M. Darbinian, "Vaveragrer Parskahayeri ev Arevmtahayeri 1828-1830 tt. gaghti veraberial," Banber Hayastani arkhivneri (2, 1973), 135; and "Arevmtahayeri 1829-1830 tt. gaghte haykakan marz ev harakits shrdjanner," Patmabanasirakan handes (2, 1974), 90-91; H. Tumanian, op. cit., p. 50.

6. See Tables I-IV.

7. There are no figures as to the number of Armenians inhabiting the mahals of Sharur and Saotlin following the Russo-Persian War of 1826-1828. The detailed totals in the table do not represent the number of people living in each mahal during the Persian administration but represent the totals of the Russian survey collected by oral interviews and hearsay evidence minus the immigrants.

8. The right of the Armenians to immigrate to Eastern Armenia was included in the Treaty of Torkamanchay on the insistance of A. S. Griboedov, the famous Russian author and Armenophile, who was responsible for some of the negotiations and who was later murdered in Tehran. The immigration was supervised by Ghazar Lazarian, a member of the wealthy Moscow merchant family, who had been active for an autonomous Armenia since the mid-eighteenth century. Of the 40,000 Armenians who immigrated from Persia 4,193 families consisting of 21,853 people settled in the mahals of the khanate, while 366 families of 1,715 persons stayed in the city of Erevan, H. Tadevosian, Patmutiun Lazarian tohmi ev Lazarian jemarani arevelian tezovats (Vienna, 1953), pp. 248-276.

9. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 539-540, 637-638; Hakobian, op. cit., pp. 523-525; Tumanian, op. cit., p. 50.

10. These gypsies were of Armenian origin; for details see V. Papazian, "Hay boshaner," Azgagrakan handes (2, 1898), 203-275.

11. See Table VIII.

12. Wine was solely produced by Armenians, who, in 1825 alone, were taxed 110 tomans for that privilege, see Table XI. Toman: Persian currency equal to four Russian roubles or five pounds sterling in 1800, C. Issawi, The Economic History of Iran 1800-1914 (Chicago, 1971), p. 343. For the weights, measures, and currency conversions see Table XX in appendix.

13. Shopen, op. cit., p. 847.

14. Based on the estimates of the pre-1829 figures (12,331 Muslims to 2,369 Armenians), see Tables I-IV.

15. See Table X.

16. See Table XVII.

17. See Table XIX.

18. M. Ormanian, The Church of Armenia (London, 1955), pp. 116-121.

19. This date has been disputed, S. Der Nersessian, The Armenians (New York, 1970), p. 75.

20. Ormanian, op. cit., p. 11.

21. The Armenian Church claims an unbroken lineage to the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew.

22. The transfers of the Holy See are as follows: 301-484 Echmiadzin; 484-928 Dvin; 928-929 Van; 929-946 Aghtamar; 946-992 Arkina (near Ani); 992-1050 Ani; 1050-1062 Sebastia; 1062-1066 Thavblur (both in Asia Minor); 1066-1147 Zamindia (near Kars); 1147-1293 Rhomkla (Cilicia); 1293-1441 Sis (Cilicia); 1441-present Echmiadzin (Soviet Armenia), Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 196-200.

23. H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, I, pt. 2 (Oxford, 1965), 207-208.

24. Bosworth, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

25. A branch of a princely Armenian family who also became a member of the Georgian nobility, Allen, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

26. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 934, fol. 1z.

27. Few years earlier (1428), Sheykh Sa'id-beg al-Sa'adi had issued a fetwa (ruling) in which he had legalized the donation of vaqf for the Armenians, Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 1004, fol. 1z.

28. The Catholicosate of Sis for various reasons, however, continued to exist soon after the transfer; for more details see A. Sanjian, The Armenian Communities in Syria Under Ottoman Dominion (Harvard, 1965).

29. For details on the Armenian community of Persia in the seventeenth century see G. Bournoutian, "The Armenian Community of Isfahan in the Seventeenth Century," The Armenian Review (4, 1971), 27-45 and (1, 1972), 33-50.

30. Pishkesh was a gift that sometimes became a bribe or a compulsory annual tribute; see Chapter VII for more details.

31. Arakel Davrizhetsi (Tavrizhetsi), Kniga istorii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 183-193.

32. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 49, fol. 1a.

33. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 60, fol. 1a.

34. Simeon Erevantsi, Dzhambr (Moscow, 1958), pp. 284-293; Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 34a, fol. 2a; MSS. 57, fol. 1a.

35. Erevantsi, op. cit., p. 294.

36. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 79, fol. 1a.

37. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 589, fol. 1e; MSS. 600, fol. 1e.

38. B. M. Arutunian (Harutunian), Krupnoe monastyrskoe khoziaistvo v Armenii v 17-18 vv. (Erevan, 1940), pp. 26-27.

39. Ibid., p. 28.

40. Erevantsi, op. cit., p. 295; for an eyewitness account of the conditions in Armenia during the reign of Nader Shah consult A. Kretatsi, Povestvovanie (Erevan, 1973).

41. Erevantsi, op. cit., p. 301.

42. Ormanian, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

43. The Catholicos Simeon Erevantsi lists 29 villages and real estate. They were the following: Vagharshapat, Oshakan, Frankanots, Moghni, Batridj, Boghenis (Chasarlu), Chobanis, Ashtarak, Aghavnatun, Byurakan, and Hajji-lar in Karbi-basar mahal; Mastara in Talin mahal; Karehjlu, Teghenis, Dibaklu, Melikgingh in Aparan mahal; Yai'ji and Amirgingh (4½ parcels) in Darachichak mahal; and Noragavit and Qara Qoyunlu in Garni-basar mahal. The above do not include the many gardens and orchards of the church, Erevantsi, op. cit., pp. 329-347.

44. M. Mseriants, Patmutiun katoghikosats Edjmiadzini (Moscow, 1876), p. 14.

45. M. Abeghian, Krunk hayots ashkharhi (Tiflis, 1863), p. 744.

46. Shahkhatuniants, op. cit., p. 234.

47. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 2.

48. H. Movsesian, Hayastaniats arakelakan surb ekeghetsu patmutiun (Vagharshapat, 1884), p. 325.

49. Ormanian, Azgapatum, II (Constantinople, 1914), 3242.

50. A. Aghayants, ed., Divan hayots patmutian, V (Tiflis, 1902), 3.

51. Ormanian, op. cit., II, 3243.

52. Ibid., II, 3203.

53. Aghayants, op. cit., IV (1899), 306.

54. Ibid., IV, 303.

55. Ibid., V, 9.

56. Ibid., I (1893), 51; Ormanian, op. cit., II, 3249-3250.

57. Aghayants, op. cit., V, 38-39.

58. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 16.

59. Aghayants, op. cit., I, 88.

60. Ibid., I, 90.

61. Ibid., II (1893), 200-230.

62. Mseriants, op. cit., p. 76.

63. Shopen, op. cit., p. 1215.

64. Ibid., pp. 676-677.

65. The Armenians of the city of Erevan did not pay any tithe to the church. The Armenian peasants, on the other hand, contributed part of their income to the church; Matenadaran Archives, Armenian MSS. 3-4, fol. 336.

66. Morier, op. cit., II, 321.

67. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 580, fol. 1d; MSS. 614, fol. 1e.

68. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 613, fol. 1e.

69. See Tables I-V and Chapter VII.

70. Hakobian, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

71. Kh. Abovian, Erkeri liakatar zhoghovatsu, III (Erevan, 1947), 58. The above is also confirmed by Alishan, Ayrarat, p. 308.

72. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 614, fol. 1e.

73. The term "caliph" given to the Armenian Catholicos was obviously a Muslim word which tried to explain the place of the supreme patriarch of the Armenians in Muslim terms. In reality the Catholicos did not claim the title or the perogatives of a caliph. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 615, fol. 1e; MSS. 616, fol. 1e; MSS. 618, fol. 1e; MSS. 619, fol. 1e.

74. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 624, fol. 1e.

75. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 53.

76. Akty, op. cit., VII (1878), 491-492.

77. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 70-71. These forces were partially funded by the Lazarian family; for more details see V. A. Diloyan, Lazarianneri hasarakakan-kaghakakan gordsuneutian patmutiunits (Erevan, 1966).

78. Morier, op. cit., II, 322.

79. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 673, fol. 1e.

80. See Table XX in appendix.

81. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 674, fol. 1e.

82. The role of the Armenian volunteers is the subject of a study by Z. T. Grigorian, Rus ev hay zhoghovrdneri razmakan hamagordzaktsutiune xix dari skzbin (Erevan, 1957); also see V. Grigorian, "The Impact of Russia on the Armenians and Armenia," Russia and Asia, ed. by W. S. Vucinich (Stanford, 1972), pp. 167-186.

83. Shopen, op. cit., p. 680. For a list of the property of the church at the time of Simeon Erevantsi see note 43 of this chapter.

84. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 695, fol. 1e.

85. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 683, fol. 1e; MSS. 699, fol. 1e.

86. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 671, fol. 1e; MSS. 672, fol. 1e; MSS. 675, fol. 1e.

87. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 685, fol. 1e; MSS. 686, fol. 1e.

88. For more details on the divan see Chapter V.

89. The above lands supported 3,700 people.

90. The annual income from fruit in 1825 was 50 tomans. For the price of wine consult Table XVIII.

91. See Tables XVII and XX for the prices of the various produce and for the weights and measures.

92. Ibid.

93. See Table XVII for the number and price of the animals.

94. Echmiadzin was the only place in the khanate which was permitted to keep pigs (considered "unclean" by Muslims). This was one of the privileges granted the church.

95. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 205-206.

96. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 698, fol. 1e; MSS. 703, fol. 1e; MSS. 704, fol. 1e.

97. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 699, fol. 1e; MSS. 708, fol. 1e; MSS. 720, fol. 1e; MSS. 721, fol. 1e.

98. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 219.

99. Ormanian, op. cit., III, 3490.

100. Eritsiants, op. cit., I, 221.

101. Ibid., I, 224.

102. V. Parsamian, Hayastane xix dari arachin kesin (Erevan, 1960), pp. 33, 54; Z. T. Grigorian, "Hayeri masnaktsutiune Arevelian Hayastani azatagrman gordzin," Teghekagir (11, 1951), 13-39.

103. For details see A. Hovhannisian, Drvaqner hay azatagrakan mtki patmutian, II (Erevan, 1959), 26-50, 214-217, 227-415, 419-521; G. A. Ezov, ed., Snosheniia Petra Velikago s armianskim narodom (St. Petersburg, 1898); J. Emin, Life and Adventures of Joseph Emin 1726-1809 (Calcutta, 1918), 2 vols.; A. R. Ioannisian, Iosif Emin (Erevan, 1945), and his Rossia i armianskoe osvoboditel'noe dvizhenie v 80kh godakh xviii stoletiia (Erevan, 1947).

104. V. Grigorian, op. cit., pp. 178-218; for more details see V. Parsamian, Tsarizmi gaghutayin kaghakakanutiune Hayastanum (Erevan, 1940).

CHAPTER V

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Agha Mohammad Khan, the first of the Qajars, did not concern himself with the establishment of an elaborate governmental structure but spent his energy to consolidate his power. The Shah employed three major officials for the state finances and some minor bureaucrats who functioned on the local level. His nephew and heir, Fath 'Ali Shah, was the real founder of the administrative apparatus. He enlarged his royal household and extended the bureaucracy, reviving titles and offices inherited from the Safavids.[1] However, since he lacked an effective centralized bureaucracy and tax collecting system, Fath 'Ali Shah had to rely on the traditional tribal technique of staffing the critical administrative positions with members of the royal clan. The appointment of sons and other members of the Qajar tribe was ultimately the only effective system of control in a society which discouraged any sense of administrative responsibility. The bonds between the central government and the provinces were strengthened by the systems of tribal loyalty and, more particularly, clan relationships.[2] Persia was a fragmented society based on "locally bound microcosms," which existed economically in

a self-sufficient system and were tied socially by blood relationships, clans, tribes, and villages.[3] These units owned land, flocks, or other sources of wealth as a clan or village unit and were regulated by a patriarchal system of authority. Isolated from each other, not only by territory, but also by economic competition for meager resources, these microcosms valued their extreme independence. Each of these units competed with others for existence and expansion, relying in this competition most heavily on blood ties, the fundamental bond of the society. It was only in the family and the extended family that an individual could achieve security within the society. As the family rose or declined in social prestige and potential power, so did the individual.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the crucial provinces of Persia were always entrusted to the Qajar princes or clan members. The patriarchal system of authority allowed the Shah, the head of the clan and family, to arbitrate and resolve arguments. Malcolm reports on the power of the pater familias:

> They [children] have no rights recognized by law or custom. No mediatory power can interpose between them and their parent. Born on a precipice, they are every moment in danger of destruction, and are alike subject to fall by their virtues and their crimes.[4]

Fath 'Ali Shah, however, rationalized the official reason for the appointment of princes to high positions; he did not want to have his sons in the harem where they would

become incapable of ruling, as had the Safavid princes, and thus endanger the dynasty.[5]

Persia was divided into five ayalats (provinces) and several hukumat-neshins (governorships).[6] The most important ayalats were delegated to the favorite sons of the Shah and their vazirs (minister-advisor). These advisors were responsible for reducing the worst excesses of the princes and for keeping close surveillance on the provincial administration.[7] The third appointed official was the mostowfi. He was an accountant who assessed taxes, assured that the tax farmers did not abuse the population, and was responsible for the remittance of the central government's share of taxation.[8] The revenue received from the five ayalats by the central treasury came to five kurur or two and a half million tomans annually.[9]

The hukumat-neshins were territorial divisions located along border regions.[10] These governorships seem to have resembled in nature the districts of the amir-e sarhad (Emirs of the borders) of the Safavid administration.[11] These districts were entrusted to officials bearing the title of khan or beglarbeygi (Governor-General). The major honorific perogative of the Safavid beglarbeygi was to be preceded by a certain number of musicians in official ceremonies.[12] As Qajar administration was closely modeled upon that of the Safavids, the khan of Erevan not only had the title of beglarbeygi, but was granted the

same ceremonial honors.[13] According to Chardin, the Persians felt it advantageous for the governor of a province to utilize what was collected there.[14] Their justification was that, given exceptional power, the governor of a border area would act for the well-being of his territory, which was constantly exposed to external danger.[15] Therefore, the general well-being of the hukumat-neshin was entrusted completely to the ruling khan. The khan seldom remitted more than a minimal amount of cash to the central government, although he was responsible for sending an amount of the choice products of his province to the Shah.[16] Sources are unclear on the exact bureaucratic hierarchy of the hukumat-neshin, but it is certain that for some of these units no mostowfi or vazir was sent by the central divan (chancery) to oversee the activities of the beglarbeygi. This was as true in Qajar times as it was in Safavid.[17]

The bureaucracy of the khanate of Erevan was modeled after the Qajar administration in Tehran. It was divided into four branches: the civil bureaucracy, the household of the khan, the military, and the religious institution. Each of these in turn had various subdivisions. With the exception of the religious institution, the khan headed the entire system.[18]

The Khan

As Khan of Erevan, Hoseyn was the commander-in-chief of the military (having the title of sardar) and the head of the civil administration of his province. The sources unanimously agree that he indeed was one of the most elevated personages in Persia. The traveller, Morier, for example, writes:

> Hossein Khan, the Serdar of Erivan, is one of the most powerful chiefs in Persia; he governs his country with nearly as much authority and independence as 'Abbas Mirza. . . . He has so strengthened himself by the vigour of his measures and the money he has collected that he can now bid defiance to the power of the king. . . . He exercises the power of life and death over his people, and keeps up nearly royal state.[19]

The traveller Ker-Porter gives the following appraisal:

> In short, he might rather be styled the Prince of Erivan, than its mere delegated governor; for he is looked up to by the natives, with the homage of subjects; and in his domestic arrangements he has assumed appendages which belong to royalty alone. His wives travel clothed in scarlet; a superb sort of raiment, not permitted in Persia to any women but those of the family of the King, or of his sons. He has also the privilege of covering the baggage carried by his mules, with highly ornamented clothes of blue and red, which are badges of royal equipage.[20]

The Shah used the khan as a balancing force against his ambitious heirs, especially 'Abbas Mirza. The monarch knew that Hoseyn Khan's power was bound with his and that the loyal commander would not forsake his master for any offer from the princes. He therefore allowed unlimited power to the khan, who was stationed to the north of the lands governed by 'Abbas Mirza. The heir apparent, who

wanted to see one of his sons in the lucrative position, attempted to dislodge this force and at one time even asked General Ermolov to complain about the khan's actions to the Shah.[21]

Hoseyn Khan was one of the few important chiefs in Persia not to have court hostages at Tehran. Rarely was he summoned to the capital nor did he have to pay the customary bribes in order to continue at his post. His court was modeled after that of Tehran. Travellers mentioned the elaborate and beautiful palace, fountains, and luxuries outshining those of other provincial courts and second only to that of Fath 'Ali Shah's.[22] Exercising the right of life and death over his subjects, the sardar based his powers on an organized and obedient bureaucracy, which insured the collection of taxes and services, and a strong garrison. He did not face any major landed opposition or local magnates and even had sufficient authority to withdraw or restore favors and land grants. The office of governor and commander of Erevan had thus reached its most powerful and absolute position. Barring the military intervention of the Shah or the heir apparent, the khan had no restraint on his powers. His relationship was one of direct correspondence with the Shah and the heir apparent. No other official of the central government had the authority to inspect or regulate the administration of the khanate. The customary vazir or mostowfi was absent from

Erevan. Moreover Fath 'Ali Shah, by declaring the sardar's province a war zone, not only recognized his immunity from taxation but even sent him an additional six thousand tomans for the expenses of the standing army. The khan's honorific salary of six hundred tomans was the only indication that he had a master outside his territory. Thus he could keep the total revenues of the province and devote them to mustering forces against the Russians.[23] The sardar also received the right of haq ol-zarb (mintage), which placed his small territory on equal standing with much larger provinces of the interior.[24]

The judiciary served the khan as an important aspect of his power. Under the legal system, 'urf (customary law) was administered by his appointed civil officials, who oversaw the prices in the market, controlled weights, and regulated the daily life of the inhabitants of the land. The sardar himself reserved the right of ultimate appeal and heard every case having to do with capital punishment. His justice was swift and severe but assured the well-being of the area.[25]

Probably the most substantial source of power was the khan's control over the economic life of the khanate. He and his entourage were the major consumers of military equipment, food stuffs, furnishings, and numerous services which employed local merchants and artisans. He controlled the economy by his power to collect taxes in kind; he sold

the surplus on the open market, making him the major supplier of food in the city. Moreover, he also had the monopoly of major cash crops such as grain, barley, rice, cotton, and salt which he exported (mainly to Georgia); in return for which he imported items such as sugar, coffee, manufactured goods, and particularly Georgian cloth which he sold throughout northern Persia.[26] The grain monopoly served as a source of stable prices in the khanate. Large anbars were built to store the grain, which he released in times of famine, siege, or inflation, thus maintaining the city bread supply intact and avoiding dangerous social unrest.[27]

The power of Hoseyn Khan was sufficient to allow the nomadic and settled population to live near each other without the traditional hostilities among them. As already stated almost half the population of the province was nomadic. Turkmen were generally recruited for the infantry, while Kurds served in the cavalry forces. These nomads were assigned their own areas, administered by their own clan chiefs, and were given special privileges (such as lower taxes, exemptions, pasture rights, land grants, and salaries) to stay away from the settled villages and to restrain their members from infringing upon the settled population.[28] In general there seems to have been very little conflict between the two peoples, while in the Ottoman Empire, the nomads, particularly the Kurds,

wrought havoc upon the settled population, especially the Armenian.

There are few sources on the physical attributes of the khan. The travellers who were permitted to see him at close range or to speak to him all contacted him at an advanced age. Ker-Porter describes the sardar as follows:

> He seemed to be about seventy; with a sensible and energetic countenance; and a frame, sufficiently strong and vigorous, to promise active service for many years to come. His eye is vivid and quick, his complexion sallow and his large beard, though not long, kept perfectly black. . . . Years appear to have failed in abstracting anything from the mind or body of the Sardar. . . . His character for enterprise, and steady bravery is well known.[29]

Outside of battle, the khan's major passions were hunting on his estates and consuming large quantities of wine. His harem was more a matter of prestige than use; his wives and concubines were remarkably free to travel outside their quarters. The trust demonstrated by the khan apparently was rewarded by his women, for no scandalous accounts were circulated about his harem.

Civil Bureaucracy

The civil bureaucracy was centered around the divan, which was administered by a saheb-e divan (sometimes a khazanehdar aghasi, nazer, or vazir), who acted as a combined finance and interior minister. In the last years of the khanate, this post was entrusted to Mirza Isma'il.[30] The divan administered both the city and the mahals. The

appointment of the various officials and the payment of their salaries, either in cash or land grants, was done by the khan or Mirza Isma'il. It is necessary to point out that the nature of the Persian bureaucracy was different from its modern counterpart. As in other states of the Middle East there was no clearly defined bureaucratic function for the various officials of the khanate. Some posts fell into more than one category and caused rivalry or animosity between the various groups and individuals. The positions functioned according to tradition, rather than defined rules.[31]

Besides Mirza Isma'il the divan had numerous mirza (secretaries), monshi (scribes), and farash (servants-messengers), who kept the records and aided in the administration of the khanate. There was an official entitled mohasel beg, whose job was to gather the taxes collected in the mahals and hand them over to the divan. He gave the head of each mahal a receipt acknowledging the sum. An important official of the divan was the lashkarnevis, who kept the active military rolls and paid the troops.[32] The divan in general was staffed by Persians (called Tajik by the Turkmen), or the men of the pen, ridiculed by the military elite, or the men of the sword.[33]

In the administration of the city of Erevan the divan utilized many officials. Law and order, although under the police authority, was in the control of the

divan.[34] There were five major officials in the city each of whom had a number of subordinates. They were the kalantar, the darugheh, the mohtaseb, the usta-bashi, and the mirab-bashi.

The job of the kalantar was to keep the population content so that they would continue to pay their taxes and pray for the dynasty.[35] He was the most important urban official and was sometimes referred to by Europeans as the mayor of the city. He was the local representative of the people and was the channel of the khan with the populace.[36] He enforced the law and was responsible for the behavior of the public. For this he had a police force under his command to see that law and order was carried out in each quarter (mahalleh) of the city. From the inhabitants, he even appointed the chiefs of quarters, who were responsible to him. Crimes on the local level were dealt with by the minor officials of the mahalleh, or referred to the kalantar, who punished offenders with bastinado (falak) and fines. More serious offenders were referred to the khan. The number of deaths had to be reported by the mordehshur (washer of the dead) to the kalantar, who acted as coroner.[37] He collected the taxes from the guilds and supervised the amount of taxes to be paid by the individuals. The mahalleh and guild members received their individual assessment through their elders who divided the given quota (bunicheh) among their members.

The kalantar would then seal the assessed affidavit making it official.[38]

The kalantar had another important function: to fix the prices of certain staples such as bread, meat, groceries, wood, and animal forage. Guilds fixed their own prices and qualities but paid the kalantar for that privilege. The darugheh and the mohtaseb enforced these price standards in the bazar.[39] The kalantar, therefore, was a combined mayor, police chief, magistrate, coroner, and tax supervisor. He regulated trade and the hours of the bazar; sat in the 'adliyeh khaneh (house of justice); was in charge of the 'urf cases; passed judgment; and had farash and gazmeh (policemen) under his command.[40]

The office of the darugheh resembled that of a police captain. His duties were to guard public and private property at night, particularly in the bazar, and keep order in areas of low repute. The darugheh was usually acquainted with the thieves, thugs, and prostitutes, the latter being used for spying. Drunkards had to pay a fine as did persons caught with prostitutes. Stolen goods were usually retrieved for a sum. The darugheh therefore acted as a superintendent of the bazar with some judicial powers.[41] To help him administer his various duties he had a number of gazmeh under his service. This force was headed by superiors called chavush (head of ten) and yuzbashi.[42] The darugheh executed the orders of the

kalantar, regulated disputes, watched over weights and measures, and saw to the regularity, cleanliness, opening, and closing of the bazar.[43] The darugheh could dispense justice in minor quarrels, for which he received a sum from both parties. He also obtained a certain amount for each shop he guarded at night. Under his control was the night watchmen and their superior, keshikchi-bashi.[44] The darugheh had a special place in the center of the bazar and reported all major actions to the kalantar. In other cities of Persia this post was sold at a high price, as there was the possibility of generous dividends. In Erevan, the darugheh was salaried by the khan and although he charged for some services, graft was not easily available.[45] To facilitate the control of the bazar, all merchants and artisans were registered by the darugheh.[46]

The mohtaseb was a bazar official who had religious functions: to see that the Shari'a was observed in the bazar, to maintain public morality, and to enforce daily prayers. In the Safavid period, this office began to decline from an independent position to one subordinate to the darugheh.[47] The mohtaseb had policemen delegated to him by the darugheh to administer punishments for light offenses.[48]

The usta-bashi was the elected head of all the guilds in the city. Each guild had its own leader elected by the members of that specific guild. The leaders of the various

guilds in turn elected the usta-bashi. The function of the usta-bashi was to regulate the relations of the guilds. Quarrels between the guilds and guild members were generally solved among themselves rather than with the help of the darugheh (who charged money). The usta-bashi was always available for consultation in a set place. With the assistance of a deputy and a treasurer, he established the guild standards and supervised the relationship and contracts between apprentice, journeyman, and master. He was also responsible for the orphans and widows of guild members.[49]

The last major official, the mirab-bashi, oversaw the irrigation system in the city and supervised the various subordinate mirabs in the quarters to make sure that water for drinking, washing, and irrigation of the gardens and orchards be properly distributed among the population. One aspect of his responsibility was to function as a rudimentary health service by maintaining the purity of the water supply. This post was very important in a society where water played a crucial role. This reliance on the irrigation system committed the central authority to a constant vigilance and maintenance of the system. The mirab-bashi had extensive supervisory powers in a highly structured system of responsibilities. He was responsible for the city water supply and the appointment of the mirabs of each mahal.[50] Local supervisors (jubars)

were appointed by each mahal mirab. The peasantry, in order to protect their interest in obtaining water, would nominate from themselves a dagh-bashi (supervisor) to accompany the jubar on his rounds.[51]

The divan financed the payment of the salaries of its officials by three techniques. First, a small number of officials received a set salary from the treasury, consisting of either cash or grants in kind from the lands belonging to the divan or else taxation paid in kind. Secondly, offices were sold by the khan to tax farmers, who, paying an initial fee equivalent to the assessed revenue of the office, were allowed to recoup their initial investment by pocketing all the fees or increments pertaining to the office. Thirdly, as was most prevalent, and followed the pattern of the sardar, officials were paid by a combination of salary and tax farming. The actual salary or revenue from an office was far greater than that which appeared on the divan rolls. Most officials were underpaid but it was understood that they might augment, within reason, their income with perquisites; fees for performing functions of the office, and bakhshesh (gratuities).[52] With the exception of the usta-bashi, all the major officials were appointed by the khan.

The administration of the mahals was entrusted to officials appointed by the khan from among his most trusted followers. These notables, the mirboluks, held either a

military function, a civil function, or a combination of the two.[53] The primary duties of the mirboluk were social control, the maintenance of order, and the protection of the mahal from external aggression. One of the civil duties was the exaction of revenue. The mirboluk assigned the sum due each community and landed estate. He was also in charge of the activities of the mirabs and their staffs in the mahal. His assistants, the nayebs circulated throughout the mahal conveying the orders and demands of the mirboluk to the various kadkhoda (head of village, agalar in Turkish), beg, or, in the case of an Armenian community, melik.[54] These village heads were selected by the local population from their own rish-sefids (elders) with the approval of the mirboluk. In each large-sized community the nayeb would leave a sarkar (or mobasher in Persia proper/supervisor), who with the aid of nokars (lackeys) armed with sticks would enforce the will of the mirboluk and see that taxes were paid on time. His continual presence in the village was to insure that the government was not cheated by the peasantry's concealing of any of its crop, produce, etc.[55] The mirboluks in turn were responsible to the mirboluk-bashi in Erevan, who, in the time of the last khan was Mohammad J'afar Khan, whose duty was to stand between the khan and the various mirboluks, to relay orders and to serve as an inspector-general.[56]

Numerous other officials served as tax collectors or bought their office for a limited time to perform a specific service. These nonhereditary positions could be revoked. One such office was the rahdar (toll collector) who sat in the rahdarkhaneh (toll house) on every major transit route and collected road tolls from passengers and merchants. Tolls were payable on items carried by man or beast. After deducting a percentage, the rahdar would forward the rest to the treasury.[57] If the passenger was in the service of the state he did not pay any tolls at the rahdarkhaneh.[58]

The chaparkhaneh (post and transportation centers) was administered either by salary or tuyul. For example Mohammad 'Ali Beg, who served in the position of chapar-bashi, had the village of Norashen in the mahal of Sharur as his tuyul. There were seven chapar stations in the khanate; in Talin at Mastara (on the Georgian road), in Sardarabad (at the fortress), in Karbi-basar at Uch-kilisa, in Garni-basar at Qamarlu, in Vedi-basar at Sadarak, and in Sharur at Norashen. Each station had nine horses. Erevan's chaparkhaneh was larger and had fifteen horses. There was always a person at the chaparkhaneh who was responsible for the change of horses. These stations were usually next to the caravansaries or rahdarkhanehs, where the traveller could rest and eat before continuing his journey. The price for this "rent a car" was two

shahis per mile/per horse.[59] After facing the uncertainties and hardships of some provinces in the Near East, European travellers lauded the safe roads (once infested with bandits), the excellent communications and chapar services, and the caravansaries with fresh horses.[60]

Other officers included the qapandar (weighing service in the bazar), who charged a fee for weighing every load and who was responsible to the qapandar-bashi. Larger loads were weighed by the qantar or mizan under the supervision of a mizandar.[61] The office of the mint was farmed out to one individual, who was usually an Armenian.[62]

The khan sold the offices of tax-collectors for various commodities and services. These men saw that no one opened a new shop, or manufactured and sold an item without paying his due.[63] Tanners, dyers, shoemakers, glass-blowers, weavers, millers, fishermen, soapmakers, tobacco-sellers, wine dealers, and oil-sellers were all controlled by the tax collectors.[64] Tax collectors were concentrated in the city of Erevan, where the economy sustained their livelihood and brought the necessary revenue to the khazaneh (treasury).

The Court

The household of the khan was divided into the inner and the outer courts. The outer court (khalvat) consisted of those officials bearing the title of bashi (head) and

their assistants in charge of food and services for the khan and his household. The dependents of the outer court were divided according to function; kitchens, stables, musicians, gardens, the hunt, the buyutat (workshops), the guards, and the executioner (mirghazab). The authority in the kitchens belonged to three officials. The ashpaz-bashi (head cook), abdar-bashi (man in charge of beverages), and the qahveh-bashi (coffee maker). The staples of the household were obtained monthly and stored in the anbars of the palace under an official of the inner court, the anbardar (holder of the keys of the anbars). Fresh produce was supplied from the private estate of the sardar outside the fortress. Meat was sent by the nomads in form of tribute.[65]

The stables followed the kitchens in importance in the structure of the outer court. The establ-bashi (head of the stables), supplied and cared for the khan's mounts. The qater-bashi managed the mules, and the shotor-bashi the camels. The baghban-bashi supervised the gardens of the palace; the naqarehkhaneh-bashi oversaw the music and entertainment of the court and official processions. The shekarchi-bashi organized the khan's favorite pastime, the hunt. The usta-bashi of the buyutat was in charge of luxury goods, household items, and clothing needed for life in the fortress.[66] The buyutat in Erevan do not seem to be as important as they were in the court at Tehran.

The personal guard of the khan, the qaravul, was in charge of security in the palace and the protection of the khan when he travelled. The mirghazab was the supreme symbol of the khan's authority. He was always at his side to demonstrate the khan's judicial power.[67] Of the officials in the outer court some were Turkmen, some Persian, and yet some others Christian slaves (particularly Georgians), some of whom were raised in the household of the khan.

Less is known about the andarun or haramkhaneh (inner court) of the khan. Sources mention the khan having thirty-six women in the harem. The most important and powerful of these was Hajji Beygum Khanum, his primary wife. There were no guards in the andarun and the women, as stated previously, were free to come and go in the city as they wished.[68] The positions which had been previously (Safavid period) held by aghas (eunuchs, not to be confused with the military title of aqa), the charge of the privy purse (sanduqdar-aghasi), who paid the salaries of all the officials and retainers of the twin courts, and the supervision of the provisions (anbardar-aghasi), had now fallen to officials who, although not eunuchs, still bore the title of agha. It was the inner court which controlled the expenditures in the sardar's household. This household was large and each official had assistants and servants subordinate to him.[69]

The Military

The most crucial of the branches of the ruling institution was that of the men of the sword. The separation between the men of the pen and the men of the sword, or the civil administration and the military, was rigid. The khan was the chief of this branch; under the title of sardar he was the commander-in-chief of the military. During times of peace, however, the command was entrusted to his brother, Hasan Khan, who occasionally served as the mehmander of the khanate. The mehmandar was an official who was in charge of caring for or supervising the needs of visitors to the court. He had a twofold function, the care of guests and the surveillance of their activities.[70]

Although the khan's forces had no chain of command such as is seen in the modern army, it is possible to determine the relative ranks by the place each major officer stood at ceremonial receptions. Following Hasan Khan in rank were the "Khans of the Border": Isma'il Khan (Aparan), Marvan Khan (Pambak), Naqi Khan (Darachichak), and Ghafar Khan (Kulb). Of these only Ghafar Khan had the civil title of mirboluk. He was stationed with a detachment of soldiers to insure the steady operation of the salt mines in his district. The other three, all of whom were Turkmen, were recruited from the leaders of the largest confederations. Marvan Khan and Naqi Khan were obliged to

maintain troops in their respective regions in exchange for tax exemption. Ghafar Khan and Isma'il Khan received various tuyuls from Hoseyn Khan.[71]

Cavalry was supplied as the auxiliary to the standing army of the sardar by the Kurdish nomads who were also in charge of the protection of the southern mahals.[72] The leaders of the various tribes constituted the second rank of khans in the military hierarchy. Hoseyn Aqa, a close friend of the sardar, coordinated the affairs between the Kurds and the government in Erevan.[73]

The standing army, other than the small garrison in Kulb, was concentrated primarily in the fortresses of Erevan and Sardarabad. These forces included artillerymen and soldiers (sarbaz) trained in at least a modicum of military discipline. The chief officers bore the titles of sartip (equal to Brigadier-General), and sarhang (colonel), followed by the commanders of the fortress (qal'eh beg), the armory (aqa-e aslehehkhaneh), and the artillery (aqa-e zanburakkhaneh and tupkhaneh).[74] These officials were paid through produce or land grants for the duration of service. The ordinary soldier was either salaried (in cash or produce) from the divan or was part of a militia which gave service for tax exemption and a livelihood.[75] The divan rolls were annually renewable and few positions were inheritable.

The Religious Institutions

The final branch of the administration, the religious institution, was virtually free from the strictures of the government. The religious hierarchy was usually staffed or paid by government appointments but had its own sources of income in vaqf and fees for services which varied from one-fifth to one-fortieth of a citizen's income.[76] The most important religious figures in the khanate were the mujtaheds. Independent in their actions, they did not deal in any official capacity, but voiced their opinions on important matters. Their judgment was usually considered final in legal or religious debates. The rest of the religious hierarchy dealt with the government and was sometimes financed by tuyul or official taxes granted to their office. The khan could influence the appointment of certain high-ranking religious figures. The Muslim hierarchy consisted of the following: the sheikh ul-Islam (the official religious head of the community), whose office was financed by state tuyul; imam jum'a (the leader of the prayer in the Friday mosque); imams (leaders in the daily noon prayer at various mosques); and the remainder of the religious hierarchy composed of numerous akhund, mulla, seyyed (lecturers, teachers), mutevalli, and mu'azzin (caller of the faithful to prayer), who staffed the multitude of necessary social functions in the society.[77] Some acted as judges in the Shari'a Courts; others were in

charge of public education; while others were concerned with the welfare of the citizenry. Social functions which today have fallen to the state were all the responsibility of the religious institutions. Marriage, divorce, wills, funerals, circumcisions, and law suits were all handled by the Muslim religious hierarchy.[78] As already noted, the Armenian religious hierarchy performed much of the same functions for the Armenian community as did the Muslim in theirs.

The majority of the Qajar governors of the various Persian provinces have been accused of (justifiably) behaving as alien military rulers whose main interest was to enrich themselves to the ruin of the territory under their administration. Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar and his administration, on the other hand, not only did not act as a separate entity but with the control of the army, trade, grain, property, labor, and materials, penetrated much of the society. The khan and his bureaucracy did not govern from without, but merged political control with economic and social roles. The khan was unquestionably at the apex and controlled all by his favors. He concentrated the triple administration of military, household, and finance in his hands and never allowed one branch to consolidate its power against his authority. The Khanate of Erevan could indeed boast of having an able governor and a competent administration.

NOTES

1. A. Mostowfi, Tarikh-e ejtema'i va edari-ye dowreh-ye Qajariyeh, I (Tehran, 1941), 26.

2. Barth, op. cit., p. 27.

3. Z. T. Grigorian in his work, Prisoedinenie Vostochnoi Armenii k Rossii v nachale xix veka (Moscow, 1959), p. 14, following the example of Soviet historiography, classifies Persia as a feudal state. Soviet scholars in general do not distinguish between the Asiatic and the European feudal states. Although I. P. Petrushevskii writing in The Cambridge History of Iran, ed. by J. A. Boyle, V (Cambridge, 1968), 514, lists some differences, his work does not apply to the nineteenth century but to the thirteenth. Marx in the Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, ed. by E. Hobsbawm (New York, 1972), p. 32, introduces a fourth stage, the Asiatic, as yet another main epoch in history, which is to be distinguished from the previous three modes of class society recognized by him and Engels. Elaborating further, Engels concluded that the absence of private property (in form of land) was the main difference between European feudalism and what he called Asiatic despotism (F. Engels, Anti-Duhring [New York, 1966], pp. 198-199). This he believed was because of special conditions, such as the need for public works and irrigation systems, which when in the hands of the state made the control over society an easy task. Karl Wittfogel used this notion to build his theory of the "hydraulic state" where the government controls the society via large-scale irrigation works (for details see K. Wittfogel, Oriental Despotism [New Haven, 1957]). Marx, on the other hand, used the notion of a fragmented society as one reason of despotic control (Marx, op. cit., pp. 69-71). It is this concept that has been elaborated by Ervand Abrahamian and applied to the Qajars, E. Abrahamian, "Oriental Despotism: The Case of Qajar Iran," International Journal of Middle East Studies (1, 1974), 8-9, 31. The author here follows the conclusions drawn by Abrahamian and agrees that the early Qajars not only did not have a bureaucracy worth its name but ruled over a society where decentralization was paramount. The Qajars were able to act despotically

as long as they carefully manipulated the different fragments of Persian society which separated by villages, tribes, town quarters, geography, blood ties, and religion, competed for the offices and scarce economic resources. The Shah was able to divide and rule and did not need a bureaucracy or a standing army in order to enforce his authority.

4. Malcolm, op. cit., II, 306.

5. G. Drouville, Voyage en Perse, 1812-1813, II (St. Petersburg, 1819), 2.

6. K. Vadi'i, "Edareh va taqsimat-e keshvari-ye Iran," Baresihaye Tarikhi, III (2-3, 1969), 244-245.

7. Mostowfi, op. cit., I, 29; Drouville, op. cit., II, 3-4.

8. C. Meredith, "Early Qajar Administration: An Analysis of Its Development and Functions," Iranian Studies (2-3, 1971), 63.

9. Mostowfi, op. cit., I, 26.

10. There were twelve hukumat-neshins one of which was the Khanate of Erevan.

11. Anonymous, Tadhkirat al-muluk, ed. by V. Minorsky (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 112-113.

12. Amir-e sarhad and beglarbeygi were two distinct titles in Safavid times but were sometimes combined in the Qajar period, ibid., p. 114.

13. For the model of the Qajar administration see Mostowfi, op. cit., I, 27. On the title of the khan and his ceremonial honors see Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 591, fol. 1e; Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 65.

14. J. Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, V (Paris, 1811), 253.

15. Ibid., V, 279.

16. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 25.

17. Ibid., p. 112.

18. M. A. Adonts, Ekonomicheskoe razvitie Vostochnoi Armenii v xix veke (Erevan, 1957), pp. 20, 84.

19. Morier, op. cit., II, 313.

20. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 202.

21. Potto, op. cit., III, 16.

22. Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 70.

23. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 201-202; Morier, op. cit., II, 321.

24. G. Hambly, "An Introduction to the Economic Organization of Early Qajar Iran," Iran (2, 1964), 76; H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941 (Hertford, 1945), pp. 62-65. Samples of the coins are available in the Museum of the History of the City of Erevan.

25. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 452-453.

26. Morier, op. cit., II, 322-323; I. M. Lapidus, Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages (Harvard, 1967), p. 20.

27. Sjoberg, op. cit., p. 118.

28. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 519-537.

29. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 200-201.

30. Shopen, op. cit., p. 452.

31. Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, pt. 1, 176-178.

32. Meredith, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

33. S. Bakhash, "The Evolution of Qajar Bureaucracy: 1779-1879," Middle East Studies (7, 1971), 142.

34. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 451-452.

35. W. M. Floor, "The Office of Kalantar in Qajar Persia," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (3, 1971), 253.

36. J. Morier, A Journey Through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor in the Years 1808-1809 (London, 1812), pp. 235-236.

37. Floor, op. cit., pp. 257-258.

38. Morier, op. cit., p. 236.

39. Floor, op. cit., p. 260.

40. D. Ananun, Rusahayeri hasarakakan zargatsume, I (Baku, 1916), 2.

41. W. M. Floor, "The Market-Police in Qajar Persia: The Office of the Darugha-yi Bazar and Muhtasib," Die Welt des Islams (3-4, 1971), 212-216.

42. Adonts, op. cit., p. 21. The Armenians had their own darugheh who was responsible for the Armenian quarters. As already noted Melik Sahak Aqamal was the Armenian darugheh, while Yuzbashi Parsegh Kegham was his assistant. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 931-932.

43. J. B. Fraser, Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces (London, 1826), p. 149.

44. Drouville, op. cit., I, 254-255; E. S. Waring, A Tour to Sheeraz by the Route of Kazroon and Feerozabad (London, 1807), p. 67. For the sums received by the various officials see Chapters VII and VIII.

45. Drouville, op. cit., I, 105.

46. P. A. Jaubert, Voyage en Armenie et en Perse (Paris, 1821), p. 334.

47. Waring, op. cit., p. 68.

48. Floor, op. cit., pp. 222-223. By the end of the century the post of mohtaseb had become, once again, an independent office.

49. Ananun, op. cit., I, 46-47; V. A. Abrahamian, Hay hamkarutiunnere Andrkovkasi kaghaknerum, 18-20rd dari skizbe (Erevan, 1971), pp. 32-42.

50. Freygang, op. cit., pp. 196-197. Since the city of Erevan alone had more orchards and gardens than the entire khanate, the mirabs of the various quarters of Erevan equalled in rank to the mirabs of the mahals.

51. Adonts, op. cit., p. 51.

52. Ananun, op. cit., I, 26.

53. Adonts, op. cit., p. 20. In some areas of Persia these officials were called boluk-bashi or boluk-khoda; Floor, op. cit., p. 266.

54. Their number varied according to the mahal, Adonts, op. cit., p. 20. The role of the Armenian meliks is described in Chapter IV.

55. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 448-449.

56. Shopen, op. cit., p. 457.

57. Morier, op. cit., pp. 82, 96.

58. Ibid., pp. 123, 296. More will be said of this later.

59. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 776-778. See Table XX in appendix.

60. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 195; G. Ouseley, Travels in Various Countries of the East, II (London, 1823), 440.

61. Ananun, op. cit., I, 66.

62. Shopen, op. cit., p. 983.

63. Ibid., p. 878.

64. Ibid.

65. Sepehr, op. cit., I, 84-85.

66. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 116; Mostowfi, op. cit., I, 27.

67. Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 65.

68. Shopen, op. cit., p. 451.

69. Kotzebue, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

70. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 201-202. In Safavid times the office of mehmandar was the responsibility of one person but under the Qajars the mehmandars were appointed ad hoc in each individual case. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 110.

71. Shopen, op. cit., p. 450.

72. Morier, op. cit., II, 241. The khan's cavalry arrangement followed the traditional organization of Persian armies and closely resembled that in the province of Fars, which was known for its large nomadic population. This was of course in contrast with the policy of the crown prince, 'Abbas Mirza's policy, who had modeled an army on the European pattern. 'Abbas Mirza did not want to rely on the vagaries of nomadic cavalry.

73. Shopen, op. cit., p. 457.

74. Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 64. Zanburak was a small swivel canon carried on the back of a camel. Ibid., p. 52.

75. Freygang, op. cit., p. 288. Akty, op. cit., VII, 557, 559, 598. They were given produce five times cheaper than its market value.

76. See Chapter VII for further details.

77. For further details on the various religious offices see Gibb and Kramer, op. cit.

78. For more details see Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, pt. 2.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYSTEM OF LAND TENURE

Land was the most important source of income and power in Qajar Persia. The basic problem confronting the government was how to maintain control over the land and extract the necessary revenue with the limited technology, bureaucracy, and army. To defend the state's right to control the land a legal ruling was advanced that all land belonged to the monarch.[1] But it depended on the central government to preserve this right. During times of dynastic difficulties or weak rulers, powerful individuals would inevitably lay claim to lands theoretically owned by the state, usurp the revenue, thus further weakening the central government's authority. When a new, strong ruler arrived, he arrested the process of usurping the lands. Aggravating the problems of administering a large territory was the bureaucracy itself, forced to grant authority to outlying regions and to pay its administrators by assigning land.[2]

The Qajars faced the same land tenure problems as did the Safavids. Writing of Safavid times Lambton states,

> In the field of land tenure the theory of the ruler as the sole landowner . . . became more definite. Its practical application, however, was

> modified by circumstances. The inability of the Safavids to provide themselves with adequate military forces . . . led them, as the failure to pay their military forces had led their predecessors, to alienate large areas from the direct control of the state. At first drafts were made on the revenue for the military leaders, then the land itself was assigned, and finally it became or tended to become, by usurpation, de facto private property. Although the theory that ownership was vested in the ruler provided a convenient cover under which he could expropriate his subjects' lands, it would appear that the theory of the ruler as the sole landowner did not receive in practice complete and unqualified acceptance.[3]

The fact that private persons could donate their lands as vaqf removing the revenue from the central government meant that they exercised full control and right over their property.[4] The rulers, however, always kept the right to confiscate these vaqf lands or, at least to restore them to the divan if the mutevalli died or if the vaqf lacked proper documentation.[5]

The chaos after the fall of the Safavids facilitated land usurpation by the local lords and military leaders. The Qajars, in their rise to power, needed the assistance of these magnates, but, once established, the dynasty tried to gain control over the usurped areas.[6] It was not an easy task, however, because the Qajar monarchs tended to increase their personal revenue (khass, or crown lands) at the expense of state revenue (divani, or state lands). The central bureaucracy was responsible for divan lands, listing their revenues and using them for official salaries or for military grants (tuyul). The Shah's overseer

directly administered the khass lands, the private estates of the Shah and his immediate family, whose revenues poured directly into the privy purse of the monarch. In the early Qajar bureaucracy, however, there was no clear distinction between the funds of the privy purse and those of the divan treasury (khazaneh-ye dowlati). To maintain his army and his court, or to satisfy his personal whims, the Shah could withdraw on both sources indiscriminately.

This confusion of bureaucratic authority was repeated on a lesser scale in the Khanate of Erevan. Some authors believe, as a result of this confusion, that all state lands were the personal property of the khan.[7] In actuality the khan had his own private estates (which funded his privy purse) and could also draw on revenue from the state lands which he administered as khan. Ultimately, however, as Shopen points out, all land of the khanate belonged to the Shah.[8]

Land holding in the khanate fell into four categories: divani, lands which were either administered directly by the divan, or by tuyul (land assignment); mulk or arbabi lands including the khurdeh malek (which were private holdings of various sizes); vaqf (religious endowment); and nomadic pasture areas and migratory routes il-rah, yeylaq, and qeshlaq.[9] Regardless of type of landholding, the peasants and nomads on these lands paid taxes, some to the divan, others to the landholders. Although there

were some mu'af (tax exempt) landholders in Persia proper, there were no mu'af mulkdars (holders of mulk) or tuyuldars (holders of tuyul) in the Khanate of Erevan.[10] The holders of vaqf were mu'af as were the leaders of great tribes. The only tax exempt peasants were those who served in the military and that only for the duration of service.[11]

Land taxes differed depending on the area, type of tenure and the productive quality of the land itself. In a precapitalistic economy the landowners or the states usually did not envisage increasing their income by maintaining salaried agricultural workers but instead worked through a system of share-cropping (bahrehganeh), which the peasants participated in communally.[12] The values of the society discouraged the seeking of profit motivation at the expense of disrupting the life of the peasantry. That is not to say that the peasantry could not have been exploited severely. However, the persistance of the traditional view of the peasantry as the base of the well-being of the state and certain legal restrictions on the disposition of a peasant from his ancestral lands, prevented the destruction of the communal system of farming in Persia.[13]

The lands of each village were divided among the peasants by the village rishsefids or the appointed khadkhoda. The system of division of the plowlands of a village was based on a unit called hampa (or juft in

Persia proper). Each villager who was to share in the plowland distribution was required to have two oxen and sufficient agricultural implements.[14] These crop-sharing peasants then received a percentage of the plowlands according to the number of individuals in their family. A full hampa was assigned those families who had to feed sixteen members. A family of twelve received three-fourths of a hampa (erek pdjegh), while a family of eight used half a hampa (kes pdjegh) and so forth. There was also a one-sixteenth hampa, which was used for families with uneven numbers. For example, a family of nine received a half a hampa plus one-sixteenth hampa.[15]

The crop division system varied according to the productive quality of the land. In rich agricultural areas the bahrehkar system which was based on the bahrehganeh division, was followed. In less fertile areas a slightly more favorable division the yarikar (which entitled a family of ten to a full hampa) was introduced by the khan in order to encourage cultivation.[16] Both bahrehkar and yarikar paid a set sum of cash taxation to the divan in addition to the taxation in kind.[17]

The village harvest was divided into thirty even parts. On the bahrehkar lands, the peasants received two-thirds or twenty parts, the mulkdar or tuyuldar one-tenth or three parts and the divan seven parts.[18] If the village was directly administered by the divan, the

percentage given to the divan rose to one-third or ten parts. These villages were also assessed a cash sum called the bunicheh (quota) and paid a set sum of ten tomans annually for each bunicheh in addition to the percentage of produce.[19] In the yarikar lands the peasants received only one-half of the share but were assessed only three tomans per bunicheh. The mulkdar or tuyuldar received one-tenth while the percentage of the state rose to two-fifths or twelve parts. Again if these lands, as most were, were directly responsible to the divan, the state's share rose to one-half. If the landlord lived in the village he received an additional share not to exceed the average share of a peasant. In the case of vaqf lands, the religious institutions collected one-third of the shares from the bahrehkar lands and one-half from the yarikar.[20]

While the percentage of the harvest retained by the peasants seemed considerable it was greatly reduced by a multitude of small fees, payments, and minor extortions. Practically everything was taxed; animals, houses, fruit-trees, utensils, and even dogs. Corvée had to be performed on government enterprises and on lands of the village which had not been distributed among the peasants and belonged to the state or landowner.[21] The peasants had to pay one-thirtieth of their share as the chilik tax for the upkeep and salary of the sarkar or mobasher (the divan repre-

sentative). Prior to the appointment of the sardar to the governorship of Erevan, the landlords conveniently pocketed the sarkar's fee, while the poor peasants, on the pain of falak were forced to pay the sarkar another share;[22] during his tenure, however, the khan discouraged this practice.[23] Landowners also had the option of having their property, particularly those recovered from the unsettled or abandoned areas, worked by ranjbars (landless peasants), paying them for their labor by only one-fifth of the produce.[24] The ranjbars were either peasants who fell into debt and were forced to sell their small plots (khurdeh-malek), or were younger sons of families not having sufficient land to support the entire family. Some had been dislocated by landlords, others were criminals or renegades, others yet were peasants who had left their land due to high taxation and were forced to find jobs elsewhere. They worked as seasonal migrant workers, hired manual laborers, or servants. Economically this was the most exploited group in the society and its social standing verged on being that of the outcasts. Having lost their position in a village community or having nothing but their labor to offer, the ranjbars were forced by the landlords to agree to wage contracts and some personal restrictions on their movements. The noted authority on land tenure and taxation in the Caucasus, Petrushevskii assumes that the ranjbars had no rights, were bound to

the land, could be sold together with the land they worked, or be given in inheritance.[25] Shopen, on the other hand, views the ranjbar not as a serf but a landless peasant.[26] In general this category of peasant was rare in the Khanate of Erevan. Only six villages are reported to have had ranjbar peasants. The Khanate of Qarabagh, on the other hand, possessed large numbers of ranjbars.[27] It is interesting to speculate that this type of landholding, although rare in Erevan, may have been expanding for the production of cash crops.

It is important to note that land itself had no value. It was only cultivated land or pastoral property which was taxed by the government. Since there was no sense of the bourgeois conception of private property, unimproved land had no value. Forests and rivers were considered common property and free for all to exploit.[28]

Water played a crucial role in the area; just as in Persia proper, an extensive irrigation system existed to assure its constant supply. The major population centers were around the natural bodies of water, especially along the Aras and Zangi Rivers.[29] The rest had to rely on the numerous irrigation canals, ditches, and other man-made facilities. The elevated land, where few canals could reach, were supplied by the traditional qanat system of Persia. These were a series of underground conduits which, by using less slope than that of the soil surface, brought

the water to the surface.[30] Without man-made irrigation systems, the Khanate of Erevan could not function. In fact the area had complicated irrigation networks in the Urartuan times, some of which were still used in the nineteenth century.[31]

Divan Lands

Under the Safavids and later under Nader Shah the divan lands had drifted into the Khass domains. With the disintegration of the central government, a large portion of khass property had passed into private hands. Regaining some of these lands, the Qajars, either converted them back to divani, retained them as khass, or diverted them into vaqf. Although Fath 'Ali Shah favored certain religious shrines by extending their vaqf holdings, he confiscated those vaqf lands which did not have proper documents or a mutevalli.[32] Confiscation became a common recourse for the Qajar leaders in their attempt to restore order. The usurpation of lands from previous dynasties, arrears of taxation, and rebellion, all gave sufficient cause. When a prominent individual fell from favor his property would be returned to the divan or held in trust to insure the good behavior of the heirs. The justification was maintained under the legal fiction that the land had been granted as usufruct. The Shah and the sardar practiced this right extensively. For example, the estates

of Sadeq Khan, a commander of Agha Mohammad Khan, who amassed four hundred villages in the Sarab and Garmrud areas, were confiscated after his execution by Fath 'Ali Shah.[33] The ministers of the state close to the Shah were particularly susceptible to sudden misfortune. The lands of Sadr-e Amir, a minister of Fath 'Ali Shah, were confiscated first by rivals and ultimately by the state after the fall of those rivals. These types of lands were called khalesjat-e zabti. The estates remained in state hands until the family should return to favor. For subsistance, however, the relatives of the accused received a small portion of the land, called mostamarri.[34]

The major weakness of the divani lands was the lack of an accurate accounting system (tax rolls) under the first two Qajar monarchs.[35] One-fifth of all the land of Persia was divani.[36] In the Khanate of Erevan 67.4 percent of the land belonged to the state.[37] Unlike some other regions of Persia, however, here an exact record of all the landholding was available; the royal domain, on the other hand, was negligible in Erevan.[38] After the Russian conquest, the new regime took over all the divani lands, but allowed the vaqf and mulk property to continue. For example, Princess Hajji Beygum Khanum, a daughter of Fath 'Ali Shah and a wife of the khan, enjoyed the use of her estate as a private owner.[39] Tuyul lands, on the other

hand, were all abolished by the Russians and became state property.[40]

TABLE VII

The Divan Property in the Khanate of Erevan According to the Russian Survey[41]

	Property	Approximate Percentage of the Total Property in the Khanate
Mahals		
Villages	353	67.4
City of Erevan		
Caravansaries	8	100
Shops	851	100
Houses	124	7
Gardens and Orchards	46	3
Mills	10	14
Baths	2	25

Tuyul

During the governorship of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar the system of tuyul, as an alternative system of payment for services to the government in place of salary, functioned very efficiently. The khan kept close control over the grants of divan lands under tuyul and made

certain that the required services were received in full. Grants were withdrawn if the tuyuldar neglected his duties. In Persia, lands usurped from the crown by private owners were passed on to their descendants as their inheritance. This situation did not exist in Erevan.[42] Whenever a tuyul was regranted to a member of the family of the previous tuyuldar, a substantial payment to the khan was necessary to take possession. The descendant was only regranted the tuyul if he was willing and capable of performing the services associated with that particular tuyul.[43]

The term tuyul as did the iqta' and ulka grants of the Seljuqs and the Safavids covered a variety of grants

> In some cases, it was a grant on the revenue attached to certain offices. In others, the tuyul was a grant of state lands in lieu of salary. In some instances, notably in tribal areas, the holder was under obligation to provide military contingents. In others the tuyul was merely a grant of the right to collect the taxation of a given area which might be crown land, the property of a third person, or the property of the person to whom the tuyul was granted, in which case it represented merely an immunity from taxation.[44]

In the Khanate of Erevan the grant of state lands in lieu of salary appears most frequently in the divan rolls.[45] Tuyul could also be a grant of rights of water, produce monopolies, farmed out services, and large or small administrative posts. In fact the Khanate of Erevan is considered by some to be a tuyul given by the Shah to the khan.[46] The nomadic tribes of the khanate received tuyul on the condition of providing military contingents. All

lands were subject to taxation in the khanate even those which had been given in tuyul. There were no tax-exempt tuyuls in the khanate. Unlike Persia where full tuyuls (tax-exempt) existed, the Khan of Erevan granted limited tuyuls. The tuyuldar sent a previously agreed sum or a percentage of the produce (such as the traditional one-tenth) to the treasury. The authority of the tuyuldar could be further narrowed by restricting the collection of revenue to a limited time, that is to be renewed each year. Life tuyuls (hamehsaleh) and full tuyuls were abolished by Hoseyn Qoli Khan.[47]

The tuyul lands of the khanate accounted for 12.6 percent of the villages.[48] The tuyuldar, however, could have a plot of land (if any untilled land existed in the area) not larger than that of the average plot of the peasant and could require (if he was so entitled) corvée on that plot. This was done especially in the Sardarabad and Surmalu mahals where the population was small for the size of the mahals and where nomadic chiefs were granted tuyuls. The tuyuldar, however, had to live on the land rather than be an absentee landlord.[49]

In the Khanate of Erevan existed two forms of tuyul that were not usual in Persia. The first form was the arpalik, which allowed the nomad chieftains to collect a certain amount of barley from the divani lands, or was used to support those who had sought political asylum

(the renegade Prince Alexander of Georgia, for example, received a large estate as arpalik while in exile in Erevan).[50] A second and unique form of tuyul that of mulk-tuyul existed in the area. The khan granted as tuyul some percentage of revenue of the mulk lands and allowed the tuyuldar to live on the estate of the mulkdar.[51] This had a twofold purpose: firstly, the khan demonstrated to the mulkdar that his supposedly "private property" fell under the jurisdiction of the state (particularly since most mulk lands were usurped tuyul); secondly, he could force the mulkdars to perform necessary services to the state in order to prevent his granting their lands as tuyul. The khan thus effectively rendered mulkdar lands as tuyul lands. It is not surprising that some authors were led to believe that mulk was just another form of tuyul.[52]

The following table is compiled from the divan rolls of Mirza Isma'il and the Russian survey of 1829. It lists the various tuyuldars of the Khanate of Erevan before the Russian conquest.[53] The divan rolls of Mirza Isma'il list forty-three tuyuls which were granted to various individuals. Interestingly enough the Russian survey lists an extra twenty-one tuyuls granted or at least claimed (64). It is possible that this sudden increase of tuyuls resulted from the Russian policy of returning

TABLE VIII

The Tuyuls of Erevan in 1825 and in 1829

Divan Rolls	Russian Survey	Comments on Tuyuldar
Qerq-bulagh		
Villages of		
	Juwrizi	Gombad Beg and his brother Hajji Beg
	Aghadzor	Sheikh ul-Islam
Bashkend	Bashkend	Salim (Selim) Beg
Arinjeh	Arinjeh	Melik Sahak Aqamal
	Kitiran	Mulla 'Ali-akbar
	Putgni	Vartan Miansarov (Yuzbashi Qaragöz)
Megöb	Megöb	Same
Illar	Illar	½ to Melik Sahak ½ to Aqa Baba-Soltan (Sultan)
Dalaki		Mirza Isma'il
Kenken		Sobhan Qoli Khan
Zangi-basar		
Villages of		
Cheharbagh		The proceeds from four aghcheh of the property went to the Shrine of Imam Husein (Hoseyn) in Karbala
	Aghcheh Qeshlaq	Three aghcheh to Sartip Khan
	Damirchi Shöglu	Three aghcheh to Gombad Beg
	Rihanli	Qazi Mulla Karim (Kerim)
	Sarijlar	½ to Sartip Khan ½ to 'Ali-akbar Beg
Garni-basar		
Villages of		
	Agh-gamzali	All four tuyuls of Mehdi Beg
	Qaratapeh	
	Qaradaghli	
	Kharatli	
Bashin-'ali	Bashin-'ali	
Chinakhanli	Chinakhanli	Both tuyuls of Aqa Mirza Beg

TABLE VIII (continued)

Divan Rolls	Russian Survey	Comments on Tuyuldar
Bowzovand-Akhund	Bowzovand-Akhund	½ to Sheikh ul-Islam ½ to mosque of Erevan
	Aghcheh Qeshlaq	Mirza Isma'il (minus the three aghcheh belonging to Sartip Khan. This village was on the border of the two mahals
	Arpava	Mulla Kazem
Vedi-basar		
Villages of		
	Asni	Hasan Soltan Kurd
Sharur		
Villages of		
	Norashen	'Ali Mohammad Beg
Aralikh	Aralikh	¼ to Kalb-'ali Khan, ¼ to the nayeb of Nakhchevan, and ¼ to Mohammad 'Ali Beg
Yalkuz-aghach	Yalkuz-aghach	Sheikh ul-Islam
Diadin	Diadin	All three tuyuls of Sartip Mohammad Khan
Arab-engijeh	Arab-engijeh	
Qara-hasanli	Qara-hasanli	
Arbatan	Arbatan	Mohammad Reza Soltan
Surmalu		
Villages of		
Tokhan-sholli bayat	Tokhan-sholli bayat	Ahmad Khan
Gogchali	Gogchali	Kurd Kemal Aqa (arpalik)
	Shirachi	Sartip Khan
	Hoseyn-kendi	Sartip Khan
	Morshed-'ali Qeshlaqi	Sartip Khan
	Tejerli	Kurd Soleyman Aqa Zilanli (arpalik)
Najaf 'Ali	Najaf 'Ali	Kurd Hoseyn Aqa Zilanli (arpalik)
Qazi-Qeshlaqi	Qazi-Qeshlaqi	Same
Panik	Panik	Same

TABLE VIII (continued)

Divan Rolls	Russian Survey	Comments on Tuyuldar
	Qezel-zaker (Qizil)	Mohammad Hasan Beg
Kazanchi	Kazanchi	Sartip Khan
Aghaver	Aghaver	Jalil Khan
Aghveys	Aghveys	Kurd Hoseyn Aqa Zilanli (arpalik)
Zoor		Mirza Tatos
Mucha		Hoseyn Khan
Erghov		Sadeq Beg
Mazra' Jirakhli		Mulla Mohammad-'ali Bayat
Darakend-parcheni		
Villages of		
Qaranlegh	Qaranlegh	
Pirili	Pirili	
Turabi	Turabi	
Kahen	Göl-ahmad	All belonged to Mohammad J'afar Khan
	Qezel-bulagh	
Kiti		
Qamishli		
Talin		
Villages of		
	Upper Aghcheh Qale'h	Both tuyuls of Khanu Khan
	Lower Aghcheh Qale'h	
	Mastara	½ to Uch-kilisa ½ to Ghafar Khan
Seyyedli-Akhsakhli		
Villages of		
	Persi	Jalil Khan
	Nazaravan	Vali Beg
	Kuchik-kendi	Isma'il Khan
Sardarabad		
Villages of	Aghcheh-arkhi	two and ½ aghcheh to Khalil Khan, four and ½ aghcheh to Sadeq Khan

TABLE VIII (continued)

Divan Rolls	Russian Survey	Comments on Tuyuldar
Armutli	Armutli	Kurd Öquz Aqa
Karbi-basar		
Villages of		
Vagharshapat	Vagharshapat	Uch-kilisa (in reality this was vaqf property)
	Tuss	Ahmad Khan
	Aramli	Khanu Khan
	Ayarli	Ahmad Khan
Oshakan	Oshakan	Uch-kilisa (vaqf and not tuyul)
Parpi	Parpi	Mehmet Soltan
Takiyeh	Takiyeh	Ahmad Khan
	Moghni	Uch-kilisa (vaqf and not tuyul)
Darachichak		
Villages of		
Arzakian	Arzakian	Melik Sahak Aqamal
	Bzhni and Gog-kilisa	Parsegh Kegham Yuzbashi
Dalular		
Gümish		Both tuyuls of Melik Sahal Aqamal

any land that had the faintest resemblance to tuyul to the control of the central administration.

The major portion of the tuyuls (75 percent) were granted to the military. The Sheikh ul-Islam and the eminent judges, together with the upper levels of the civil bureaucracy were granted the remaining 25 percent. The military grants were in areas of nomadic and semi-nomadic concentration, while the others were in the heavily populated agricultural regions. The Kurdish chiefs dominated the tuyuls in the Surmalu mahal; the mirboluk-bashi, Mohammad J'afar Khan, received all the tuyuls of the Darakend-parcheni mahal; the civil heads of the Armenians were granted all the tuyuls of the Darachichak mahal.

Mulk

The meaning of the term mulk is a subject of controversy and speculation. In early Qajar times all land belonging to individuals that was not divani, tuyul, or vaqf was called mulk or arbabi. These lands could be bought, sold, inherited, and were considered personal property.[54] In times of chaos, tuyul-holders tended to look at their holdings as private mulk; in fact, numerous landowners increased their estates by purchases and usurpation.[55] Some authors, citing the habit of officials looking on their tuyul as mulk, concluded that mulk was an income in return for services.[56] Others saw it as a

hereditary property with state service attached to it.[57]

In reality mulk had a variety of meanings; large and small landholdings, water rights, rent rights, and seigneurial rights; any unmovable property such as baths, mills, trees, etc. The communal property of a village held by all the inhabitants of that settlement was also considered mulk.[58] If one possessed a house or a fruit-tree, even on a divani land, those items were his mulk.[59] With the exception of communal holdings (where the consent of the entire village was necessary) the mulkdar could sell, pass it on as inheritance, rent, use as collateral any piece of property in his possession.[60] There was no service requirement, in general, but taxes had to be paid to the divan both by the owner of the mulk and the people on it. Otherwise mulk was de facto private property and treated as such by the Shari'a Court.[61]

It has to be noted, however, that some huge estates (covering from ten to one hundred villages) in the Caucasus were in reality tuyuls granted to a governor and should not be confused with mulk. There was an official service required for using these lands, which was part of the post of khan. These lands went to the next khan after the fall or death of the previous khan.[62] The major difference between mulk and tuyul was that the former was legally inheritable, while the latter was not (unless the tuyuldar's heirs followed certain steps outlined previously).[63]

In early Qajar times one-eighth of all the lands of the provinces of Fars and Isfahan was held under mulk.[64] In the Khanate of Erevan land held in mulk (16.7 percent) outnumbered tuyul and vaqf lands.[65] Petrushevskii cites 345 mulk villages in the Khanate of Erevan and Nakhchevan.[66] It is obvious that his estimate of such a great number of villages, even if half were in Erevan, does not correspond with the percentage of mulk in Erevan. It therefore seems that the Khanate of Nakhchevan had much less tuyul and divani and a substantial number more mulk lands than Erevan. This can be demonstrated by two facts: first, Nakhchevan was not as centralized or strongly governed as the Khanate of Erevan; and the conversion of state lands into private property was frequent. In fact, Nakhchevan did not have numerous tuyul holdings. Second, Petrushevskii must have included the vaqf and tuyul lands in the mulk category. This is not farfetched because both lands were administered as mulk and, in the case of vaqf, the manuscripts include them in the mulk category.[67] There are no records of the mulks in the Khanate of Erevan. The difficulty stems from the frequent change of names of mulk holdings. Each new owner renamed his property by attaching an abad (cultivated by) suffix to his personal name (e.g., Sardarabad). Those villages which did not change names usually belonged to more than one individual.[68]

Unfortunately there is no complete document of the mulk of Hoseyn Qoli Khan.[69] However, an earlier document lists the property of his father, Mohammad Khan Qajar, who governed the area until 1801. He possessed thirteen villages in Qerq-bulagh; seven in Garni-basar; nine in Karbi-basar; nine in Surmalu; eighteen in Sharur, and eleven others in the remaining mahals.[70] Hoseyn Qoli Khan must have added other properties.[71]

There is little said about the khurdeh-malek (farmstead type of holdings) or the communal lands of the peasants. They must have shrunk in size to the benefit of mulk, tuyul, and especially divani lands. The peasants lost their property when they were forced to sell their plots to pay taxes, repay loans, or to recuperate from bad harvests.[72]

Mulk was always divided by parcels of six, regardless of the size of the land. Each piece was called a dang in Persian (aghcheh in Turkish and estak in Armenian).[73] A full mulk was called a shesh (six) dang. When a part of a mulk was rented or sold, the footage was designated in the documents by the number of dangs or aghcheh.[74] By law the mulkdar could not expel the peasants from the land, but in reality, it occurred occasionally in Erevan and more often in Nakhchevan, where it created the landless ranjbars discussed previously.[75]

Vaqf

Vaqf was a common form of land tenure in Persia and in the Khanate of Erevan. Close to 2 percent of the land of the Khanate of Erevan belonged to the religious institutions. Vaqf property had increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Safavids donated huge sums of money and property to the various religious institutions especially the shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad and shrines in Azarbayjan. The traveller Fraser notes that during the reign of the Safavids the shrine of Imam Reza received fifteen thousand tomans annually.[76] Nader Shah abolished much of the vaqf lands of Khorasan; although his successors returned a portion of them to vaqf, the Mashhad shrine never achieved its Safavid glory.[77] In fact by the 1820's it only received two thousand tomans annually.[78] The Qajars, on the other hand, supported their favorite religious institutions heavily. The shrines in Qom and Karbala received tremendous endowments. Fath 'Ali Shah alone gave the Qom religious community five hundred tomans annually plus five hundred kharvar of grain. He also spent 200,000 tomans to inlay with gold the dome of the main mosque in Qom.[79] In general, religious notables had a comfortable income and livelihood from the many vaqfs in the land.[80]

Although there are plenty of vaqfnamehs for the Armenian community, unfortunately the archives at Erevan have no listed documents granting vaqf to Muslims.[81] The

Muslim institutions, nevertheless, were totally supported by numerous vaqfs especially since their religious hierarchy was much larger than that of the Armenians.[82]

By the laws of the Shari'a, vaqf lands were free from taxation, that is, the religious institution did not pay taxes in cash or kind to the treasury. Some vaqf villages had a stone installed outside their village which proclaimed their immunity from taxation and thus diverted the tax collectors from their community. Once the official was inside the village, he would inevitably refuse to leave empty-handed.[83] In general, the tax collectors had to be reminded continuously and shown various exemptions documents in order to relinquish their profit. The peasants on vaqf lands, however, paid taxes, that is they gave the religious institution the taxes they normally would have paid the state or landowner.[84] There is no indication that the vaqf peasants in the Khanate of Erevan lived better or worse than the regular peasants.

Nomadic Lands

A large portion of the population of Persia and the Khanate of Erevan was nomadic. The nomads received large areas for grazing and winter-summer residences.[85] They, on the other hand, supplied the khanate with butter, wool, meat, and cheese.[86] They also controlled the villages along the grazing routes and would sell or rent their

property at will. Their chiefs, in return for military service, were granted tax exemptions for themselves and tuyuls ranging from five to thirty villages.[87] The Kurdish chiefs were especially wealthy and had numerous villages in tuyul.[88] They acted as rulers in their respective areas.[89] The chiefs collected taxes from their nomads (five animals for every one hundred annually); they also performed a service for the khan in taking his flocks to pasture. The khan's flocks were herded by the tribal groups under two types of contracts, the dash-bashi and the amani. The dash-bashi was simply a herding contract which guaranteed the khan the same number of animals he had entrusted to the nomads. These had to be returned upon demand with the nomads replacing any losses from their own herds. The khan also received half a batman of butter and one stil of wool (1 Erevani batman equalled 11.0230 pounds) as payment. The amani, the second type, was less favorable to the khan for, although he received four times as much wool and butter, he sustained the loss of animals and had to wait until the end of the season for the return of his flock.[90] In general, the tribal chiefs considered their lands a hereditary mulk not to be tampered with by the central government.[91]

The extensive bureaucracy and the tax rolls were organized in such a fashion that the khan was in full control of the revenue from the land. Hoseyn Qoli Khan

thus not only obtained the revenue from the divani lands but also a percentage from the mulk, tuyul, khurdeh-malek, communal, pastoral, and even vaqf (in form of bribes) lands. It is not surprising therefore, that contrary to other parts of Persia, the Khanate of Erevan always had sufficient funds for the payment of the numerous civil and military personnel engaged in administering and protecting the khanate.

NOTES

1. A. M. Esaian, Mulkadarskoe pravo v Armenii (Erevan, 1948), pp. 22-23.

2. S. Egiazarov, Issledovanie po istorii ucherezhdenii v Kavkaze, I (Kazan, 1891), 138; Akty, op. cit., VIII (1881), 480.

3. A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia (Oxford, 1967), p. 105.

4. Ibid., p. 106.

5. M. Fateh, The Economic Position of Persia (London, 1926), p. 15.

6. H. M. Eganian, Agrarayin haraberutiunnere Iranum xix dari arachin kesin (Erevan, 1963), p. 39.

7. Ibid., p. 43.

8. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 925-926.

9. Esaian, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

10. Fraser, op. cit., p. 211.

11. Adonts, op. cit., p. 54.

12. I. P. Petrushevskii, Ocherki po istorii feodal'nykh otnoshenii v Azerbaidzhane i Armenii v xvi - nachale xix v.v. (Leningrad, 1949), p. 75.

13. For details see B. Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World (Boston, 1967).

14. Lambton, op. cit., p. 428.

15. Adonts, op. cit., p. 49.

16. Ibid., p. 50.

17. Shopen, op. cit., p. 988. If the village could not meet this cash payment the difference was supplied by payment in kind which increased the government's percentage, Douville, op. cit., I, 89-90.

18. Avdalbegian, op. cit., pp. 36-38; P. Aghayan, et al., Hay zhoghovrdi patmutiun, V (Erevan, 1974), 19-20.

19. The village was assessed a lump sum in cash, the amount due from each peasant being divided among them locally, Lambton, op. cit., p. 425.

20. Adonts, op. cit., p. 51. This is in contrast with the province of 'Araq-e 'Ajam where the necessities of oxen, seed, labor, water, and implements affected the division of the crops. For instance, if the landowner provided the seed, two-thirds of the crop belonged to him. In the Isfahan area, two parts went to the landlord and one part to the peasant who supplied the animals and labor. If the peasant also supplied the tools and seed, then he received two parts out of three, Lambton, op. cit., p. 308. In Erevan, Tehran, and Tabriz, both the owner and the peasant shared the expense of the seed because the following year's seed was removed before the division was made, H. J. Brydges, An Account of the Transaction of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the Years 1809-1811, I (London, 1834), 296. Most villages in Erevan must have been wealthy enough to supply all the necessary items, except water. If the landlord or khan supplied the water, then an additional share was due to him (in case of orchards, however, half of the crop belonged to the supplier of water). In general each area had a different division process depending on the condition of the land and the local government, Akty, op. cit., VIII, 718-719. In Azarbayjan, for example, 'Abbas Mirza dealt fairly with the peasants, allowing them to take three-fourths of the produce, while in Kurdestan the farmer received only one-half of the produce, Lambton, op. cit., pp. 309-310.

21. Shopen, op. cit., p. 1115.

22. On the many methods of punishment see J. Morier, The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan (New York, 1937).

23. Adonts, op. cit., p. 53.

24. Ibid., p. 44.

25. Petrushevskii, op. cit., pp. 317-319.

26. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

27. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 320.

28. Ananun, op. cit., I, 48.

29. The mahal of Gogcheh, due to the many wars and a large nomadic population in the area, is an exception.

30. Lambton, op. cit., p. 217.

31. B. B. Piotrovsky, The Ancient Civilization of Urartu (New York, 1969), p. 65.

32. M. H. Tehrani, Usul-e maliyeh-e Iran (Tehran, 1955), p. 124; M. A. Jamal-zadeh, Ganj-e shayegan ya o'za'e eqtesadi-ye Iran (Berlin, 1955), p. 138.

33. Akty, op. cit., II, 801.

34. Lambton, op. cit., p. 147.

35. It was only in the reign of Mohammad Shah (1834-1848) that the vazir, Hajji Mirza Aghasi, created the draftar-e khalesjat and organized the land tenure system of Persia proper. This daftar (bureau) remained until the end of the Qajar period and today its documents are deposited in the Archives of the Ministry of Finance in Tehran, T. Bahrami, Tarikh-e Keshavarzi-ye Iran (Tehran, 1951), pp. 146-147.

36. J. Perkins, A Residence of Eight Years in Persia (New York, 1843), p. 280.

37. Adonts, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

38. Zakaria Aguletsi, the eighteenth-century Armenian historian lists only four villages as khass in his days, Zakaria Aguletsu oragrutiune (Erevan, 1938), p. 134. In 1822 the sardar went to Tehran and presented Fath 'Ali Shah with the Dalmin orchard as the royal khass. However, since the orchard was watered by a canal (dug in 1815 by corvée labor) belonging to the khan, the Shah only received one-half of the crop of the orchard (in cash), Shopen, op. cit., p. 960.

39. Central Archives of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Group 100, MSS. 13, fol. 22, cited hereafter as Armenian Archives.

40. Shopen, op. cit., p. 931. The new regime left the organization of the land much as before thus keeping it in the traditional Persian system. This resulted in that the Caucasus in general, was excluded from the land reforms of the mid-nineteenth century, which in turn created the massive dissatisfaction among the peasants to be voiced in the 1905 revolution. For more details see G. Bournoutian, "The Rise of the National and Political Consciousness Among the Armenian, Georgian, and Turko-Tatar Peoples and Their Role in the Events of 1905-1907," The Armenian Review (3, 1973), 65-79.

41. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 943-946.

42. A. Humen, Tarikh-e eqtesad-e keshavarzi, I (Tehran, 1955), 278-280.

43. Avdalbegian, op. cit., p. 93.

44. Lambton, op. cit., p. 139.

45. Shopen, op. cit., p. 920.

46. Eganian, op. cit., p. 44. The city taxes could be given as tuyul. This was the case of the city of Nakhchevan, where the khan of the province received the city taxes as his salary. In the Khanate of Kuba half the total taxes collected belonged to the khan as his salary, Petrushevskii, op. cit., pp. 216-219. In Qarabagh the same system prevailed, Akty, op. cit., IX (1891), 187-188; V. Osetrov, Kolonial'ni vostok, sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie ocherki (Moscow, 1924), p. 67.

47. Shopen, op. cit., p. 929.

48. Adonts, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

49. Avdalbegian, op. cit., pp. 46-49.

50. Shopen, op. cit., p. 930.

51. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 207.

52. M. P. Kuchaev, "Feodalizm i zakreposhchenie v Zakavkaze," Russkii vestnik (1-4, 1893), 320.

53. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 931-940.

54. Esaian, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

55. Eganian, op. cit., p. 57.

56. Shopen, op. cit., p. 927.

57. Egiazarov, op. cit., I, 148, 292.

58. This is the equivalent to the common lands of the village in the medieval Europe.

59. Gibb and Bowen, op. cit., I, pt. 1, 236-237.

60. Petrushevskii, op. cit., pp. 229-232.

61. It has to be noted that the term private property used here should not be confused with the nineteenth-century European bourgeois term of the inalienable rights of the citizen regarding private property. In the final argument the Shah/State could confiscate any land it wished. This was done, in fact, frequently on the lands of prominent officials. These confiscations were not done under the law, as in the nineteenth-century Europe or today, of imminent domain (the right of the state to confiscate, with compensation, property needed for the welfare of the citizens of the state) but were done as outright confiscations.

62. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 241.

63. Avdalbegian, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

64. M. D. de Melik Schahnazar, Notice sur l'état actuel de la Perse (Paris, 1818), p. 121.

65. Adonts, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

66. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 242.

67. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 568, fol. 1d; MSS. 628, fol. 1e; MSS. 629, fol. 1e.

68. Eganian, op. cit., p. 68.

69. For a partial listing see Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 586, fol. 1e.

70. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 86, fol. 1a.

71. Other khans in the region also had huge properties. For example, the Khan of Sheki, Mohammad Hasan, possessed as mulk 254 shops in the city, 114 mulberry gardens (silk production) in 10 villages, rice plots in 7 villages, grain, mills, and grazing areas in

other villages. These he had inherited from his father; he himself purchased or added 10 more shops, 11 fruit orchards, 7 mills, 10 rice plots in 10 villages, grain from 11 communities, and over a hundred mulberry gardens. Of course not every mulkdar had such immense holdings, some had considerably less. Minute private holdings, however, are rarely mentioned. Most officials had some private property. Qasem Beg of Shirvan for example, had 70 mulberry gardens, 31 fruit trees, rice plots and two mills, Petrushevskii, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

72. Bahrami, op. cit., p. 49.

73. Lambton, op. cit., p. 426.

74. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 583, fol. 1d; MSS. 622, fol. 1e; MSS. 644, fol. 1e.

75. Eganian, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

76. Fraser, op. cit., p. 454.

77. Lambton, op. cit., p. 132.

78. Fraser, op. cit., p. 455.

79. Eganian, op. cit., p. 70.

80. Malcolm, op. cit., II, 472.

81. See Chapter IV for more details.

82. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 688-692.

83. J. Sani' ol-dowleh, Ketab-e matla' ol-shams, III (Tehran, 1912), 213.

84. Brydges, op. cit., I, 304.

85. There is no percentage available for the nomadic lands because the nomads utilized uncultivated land.

86. Eganian, op. cit., pp. 76, 138; Akty, op. cit., III (1870), 351.

87. J. M. Kinneir, Journey Through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan (London, 1818), p. 423.

88. A. 'A. Bina, Tarikh-e siyasi va diplomasy-e Iran, I (Tehran, 1958), 42.

89. See Table VIII in this chapter.

90. Adonts, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

91. J. M. Kinneir, A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire (London, 1813), p. 44.

CHAPTER VII

THE METHODS OF TAXATION

The taxation structure of nineteenth-century Persia, which resulted from centuries of accretions leading back to Sasanid times, pervaded every aspect of life.[1] The most elaborate and extensive tax structure of which we have evidence is that of the Safavids and of the Qajars. While the Qajars had revived most of the Safavid taxes, they altered much of the terminology. Much of the information on taxes in the Transcaucasian khanates has been derived from Safavid sources. There exists no complete list of taxes collected in any of the khanates except Erevan, where the tax rolls of Mirza Isma'il are an invaluable source.

The Transcaucasian Tax Structure 1780-1807

In the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century there were six types of taxes collected in the Khanate of Erevan and in the surrounding regions. These were: land and property taxes, indirect and extraordinary taxes, personal taxes, labor taxes, and gifts and religious donations, which could become official taxes.

a. Land and Property Taxes Payable in Cash or Kind

Mal va jihat: the terms mal (manal, maliyeh, maliyat) and jihat (jahat, jehat) became prevalent in the fifteenth century and continued to exist in the early nineteenth century. Professor Petrushevskii identifies the terms mal va jihat as being a single tax synonymous with the bahreh or government's share.[2] Professor Papazian, who is also a specialist on the tax systems of the Caucasus, on the other hand, distinguishes mal and jihat as two separate taxes. Jihat was the bahreh; mal was the tax on looms, trees, houses (dar), domestic animals (aghnam va ahsham), wells (qanat), and mills (asiyab), all of which were mal, dar, or mulk property.[3] A number of documents support Papazian's claim, in particular, an undated farman (decree) of Sultan Jahan Shah Qara Qoyunlu (1438-1467), regarding the immunity of the Tatev Monastery from all taxes. It states,

> All the lands of the monastery belong to vaqf and are exempt from mal, ekhrajat, and 'avarez-e divani, or jihat.[4]

Another farman, written by Shah 'Abbas I in 1604, states,

> The Armenian clergy are exempt from jihat on their fields and mal on their trees, orchards and gardens.[5]

Numerous other documents demonstrate the separation of these two taxes.[6] The amount of these taxes, equivalent to a percentage of the crop, varied from khanate to khanate and was payable in cash, kind, or both. The mal and jihat taxes took different names outside the Khanate of Erevan.

These were: dahyek va dahnim: these taxes varied from one-tenth to one-twentieth of the harvest and were collected in some areas instead of the mal or the jihat tax. The farmers in the Khanate of Kuba, for example, paid the dahyek and dahnim taxes in place of the jihat tax. A farman of Fath 'Ali, Khan of Kuba, to Hajji Beg Baduqi (1775) states,

> We order that the villages of Chenagh, Ufah, Sa'adan, Qushchi, and Chilghan are the tuyuls of Hajji Beg Baduqi. He has the right to collect the dahyek, dahnim, and kesim taxes.[7]

Mal-e bagh: in the Khanates of Shirvan, Sheki, and Qarabagh the tax from fruit trees was not included in the mal tax, but collected separately in the form of mal-e bagh or one-tenth of the crop.[8] Choban-begi or chub-bashi: collected instead of the mal tax, chub-bashi was levied on the nomads and was based on the number of animals they possessed. This tax could be effectively collected only when the central administration was strong.[9] Dastgah-bashi: during the eighteenth century, this tax was collected on looms. Although by the Qajar era it was considered part of the mal tax, it was sometimes levied as an irregular tax.[10] Juft-bashi: in the Khanate of Baku, this tax was collected for each yoke of oxen which was not considered as included in the mal tax.[11] Salianeh: earlier the vaqf administrators were allowed to collect this tax to aid them in administering the vaqfs. By the nineteenth century, in Qarabagh,

salianeh was collected annually in place of the mal va jihat.[12]

b. Indirect and Extraordinary Taxes

The indirect taxes were grouped under the general name of motevajehat or ekhrajat terms which became prevalent under the Seljuqs.[13] These taxes paid the upkeep of officials in both the urban and rural areas, thus saving the ruler from bearing the sole responsibility for the salary of a large bureaucracy. They consisted of upkeep of rural officials (vujuhat-e divani or gulug-puli), fortresses (ekhrajat-e qal'eh), and garrison posts.[14] The vazir collected a rasm-e vezarat, the darugheh, darughalik or darughegy, and the judges, ehdas, which were not salaries but percentages for resolving disputes among parties.[15] Some indirect taxes added revenue to the treasury. These were takalif-e divani obtained (in forms of road tolls, custom and police duties) from roads, baths, caravansaries, bazars, and various other public necessities.[16] In the Khanate of Sheki, however, the term motevajehat-e divani was substituted for the mal and jihat taxes.[17] In the Khanate of Kuba, a certain tax called kesim was exacted to maintain the irrigation networks.[18] In other khanates the terms shetlaq, etlaq, rusum, havaleh, and khedmataneh (service) were used instead of the various vujuhat and takalif-e divani.[19]

Extraordinary taxes were indirect taxes exacted on certain occasions, but not regularly. They were collected to provide for forage (*'alufeh*), lodging envoys, troops, and officials (*qanlagheh* or *nuzuli*), requisitioning animals (temporary) by postal officials or envoys (*ulagh va a'lam*), and maintaining the monarch and his retinue (*savari*) on official visits.[20] Nomads performed military service as their indirect taxes (*cherik*).[21]

A number of extraordinary taxes were nothing else but extortions. These were the *tafavut*, which the Qajar officials collected as their expenses over and above the official revenue and upkeep; the *mohlataneh*, which the tax collector levied in case the peasants were late with their taxes; and the *namordar* and *zarcherik*, two taxes received from Christians.[22] The first was exacted when an official was forced to stay at the house of a Christian and eat his "unclean" food; the second was collected from Christians as dues for being exempt from military service (over and above the poll tax, *jiz'ya*).[23] The above two taxes, however, are officially mentioned in a sixteenth-century manuscript and are rarely seen afterwards. The document, a farman of Shah Isma'il written in 1515, is noteworthy in that it demonstrates the large number of taxes which the Qajars inherited from the Safavids. It states,

> At this time it is declared that government officials [asaker] can not enter Qezel-kilisa [Qizil, red monastery] and collect dastgah, ekhrajat, shetlaq, 'avarez, savari, daraneh, pishkesh, 'eydi, nowruzi, namordar, zarcherik, tafavut, jiz'ya, and takalif-e divani dues.[24]

c. Personal Taxes

Personal or head tax was collected from every adult male (over fifteen) living in a city. In Nakhchevan this tax was called bash-puli (head money), while in other areas, the terms saraneh or daraneh were frequently used. Although the official poll tax, the jiz'ya, paid by non-Muslims, was abolished by Nader Shah in 1736 at the request of Catholicos Abraham Kretatsi, in some khanates the Christians paid a larger bash-puli than the Muslims.[25]

d. Taxes Payable in Services

These were a number of forced labor taxes exacted from the population under the various terms of 'avarez or 'avarezjat, parkiar, bigar, kar, sukhra, and shegar.[26] The first tax forced each adult member of a village community to perform labor, using his own animals, on the divani, tuyul, or mulk lands for a total of two days a year.[27] The other taxes were corvée labor ranging in extent from three to six days a year and exacted from all the inhabitants of a province. These were mainly for the benefit of the khan or the community as a whole. Building fortresses, digging canals, and the gathering of hay, wood, charcoal, and manure were among the various duties

of the population.[28] Minorsky, the noted Orientalist, states that the term shegar could have been derived from shekar (hunt), where the peasants acted as beaters.[29] But more probably it was a derivative of the words shesh (six) and kar (work) for the six working days demanded by the rulers.

e. Taxes in Form of Gifts

This large group of taxes were actually gifts given to the khan and his high-ranking officials at the New Year and other holidays. Originally just a gift, these became unwritten taxes and were exacted frequently in form of bribes (roshveh). They consisted of pishkesh, bayramlik (nowruzi or 'eydi), and salamaneh.[30] They could reach high sums; Mirza Razi, the vazir of Nakhchevan, for example, collected one thousand tomans in pishkesh in 1736.[31] The Khan of Kuba in the 1801-1802 period received over eighty-five tomans in 'eydi which by the year 1802 had increased to one hundred and forty tomans (one hundred for himself, twenty for his primary wife, and twenty for his personal guard).[32]

f. Religious Donations

Religious donations were customary from the earliest times in Islam. The religious hierarchy in both Christian and Muslim communities received donations which sometimes became specified officially. Usually, however, the faith-

ful gave voluntarily so that their religious institutions could continue their numerous public duties. For some services (weddings, funerals, etc.) the clergy received special fees in the form of donations. The terms haq-e Allah (God's share), zakat (alms for the poor), talabaneh (alms), khums (one-fifth of income annual tax for the upkeep of the religious institutions and the seyyeds), cheraghleq (oil or candle money), and nazr (vows and offerings) covered a variety of donations and differed in each place, ranging from one-fifth to one-fortieth of an individual's income.[33]

Taxes in the Khanate of Erevan 1807-1827

During the rule of Hoseyn Qoli Khan the Khante of Erevan differed from its neighbors in the taxes gathered from the population. Some of the previous taxes continued to be collected, while others changed completely or were not exacted at all.

The basic revenue-producing tax, the mal va jihat, was paid in a uniform system by the urban and rural inhabitants; the jihat by the bahrehganeh system in the rural areas; mal by the city population and the agriculturists.[34] The state collected from the nomad population the choban-begi and the cherik taxes.[35] The efficient bureaucracy converted gifts and some of the indirect taxes into direct taxes, assessed and exacted by the government.

Corvée and religious taxes did not differ greatly from that of the other areas. In general the taxes in the Khanate of Erevan can be divided into cash (naqd) and kind (jens).[36] In this study the taxes in kind have been converted into cash.[37]

Direct Taxes

The urban tax, the mal tax, and the choban-begi tax were assigned in a lump sum (bunicheh). Each local unit had sufficient autonomy to subdivide the sum among the members of the city, village, or tribe, according to an individual's ability to pay. Remarkably enough, it seems that, contrary to the normal practice in such a situation, the well-to-do in the village paid their fair share and perhaps more of the tax burden.[38] For example, in the village of Hajji Elias, in the rich agricultural mahal of Zangi-basar three well-to-do families paid the entire bunicheh. The tax rolls of Mirza Isma'il do not concern themselves with the population figures, only with the bunichehs.[39] Some mahals did not use the bunicheh system but paid only by produce. The mahal of Sharur, for example, shared the produce equally with the khan.[40]

The naqd from the bunicheh assessments recorded in the tax rolls of Mirza Isma'il reached 16,240 tomans in 1825. The group in society paying the largest amount of naqd taxes was the nomad (8,220 tomans), followed by the agriculture sector (6,296 tomans), and lastly, by the

urban population (1,724 tomans).[41] Since the population of the khanate was roughly balanced between the nomadic and settled, it would appear that the cash taxation rate was strikingly equal for both groups. The urban population, however, paid more taxes than the farmers (on an individual basis). The average male agriculturist (regardless of age) paid approximately 0.20 of a toman, while the urban dweller paid 0.34 of a toman. As accurate figures for the male population among the nomads are lacking, the average rate of taxation per male must be assessed somewhat higher than that of the average peasant, but lower than that of the urban dweller.

Certain tribes (Mughanlu, Jam-melli, Sa'adlu, Shahdelan among others) paid their taxes (253 bunichehs) in wool, cheese, and butter. The nomads also had to pay animal taxes. For each one hundred heads of goats and sheep, the nomads gave the khan one sheep and one lamb, which when translated in cash value amounted to 500 tomans for every 100,000 animals possessed by the nomads. Since the nomads had over 250,000 animals, the khan collected 1,300 tomans annually. This tax in kind enabled the khan to supply his large household with meat daily. The total value of goods received from the nomads reached 8,500 tomans in 1825.[42] In general, if taxes were paid totally in kind the assessment was noticeably higher.[43]

TABLE IX

Naqd Taxes Paid by the Nomads[44]

Nomads	Tomans	
Turkmen		
Büyuk-chobanqara	350	
Sarashlu	150	
Damirchirlu	50	
Karim-beglu	150	
Qafarlu	200	
Seykhlar	100	
Melli	162.5	(19.5 bunicheh)
Qarachorlu	62.5	(7.5 bunicheh)
'Ali-kendlu	75	
Seyyedlu	200	
Akhsakhlu	240	
Ayrumlu of Darakend-parcheni	800	
Ayrumlu of Talin	240	
Kurds		
Zilan	4,000	
Sakendli	220	
Jalali	268	
Khalikhanli	280	
Qezel-bash Ushaghli	127	
Mesr-kendli	151	
Bilkhikhanli	210	(102 families under Tushmal Aqa)
	174	(82 families under 'Issa Aqa)
Karachi gypsies	10	
Total	8,220	

Naqd Taxes Paid by the Peasants

The bahrehkar lands were levied 540 bunichehs of ten tomans apiece; 300 bunichehs of three tomans each were levied on the yarikar lands. These totaled 6,300 tomans. Certain agricultural lands centered in the areas producing proto-industrial cash crops (Surmalu and Sardarabad, in particular), especially cotton, silk, wheat, and rice. The khan encouraged the cultivation of cash crops, especially cotton, on yarikar lands, by lowering the cash payment of taxes and raising the percentage of payment in kind. The khan so efficiently controlled the merchandising system that he alone was capable of marketing these crops. The extremely heavy (almost excessive) taxation of these lands can be also viewed as evidence of the suppression of any rudimentary capital formation. In cases of drought, bad crops, or locust, however, the sardar would exempt or lessen the bunichehs in the area. At other times he would increase the bunicheh as punishment for an unruly village.[45]

Urban Taxes

The City of Erevan also paid taxes in lump sums (collected quarterly). The Muslims paid 1,254 tomans, the Armenians 440 tomans, and the gypsies 30 tomans, for a total of 1,724 tomans.[46] Urban taxes were collected by the heads of the community who themselves paid taxes too. The gypsies were under the administrative authority of

the Armenian meliks.[47] Unlike the Khanate of Nakhchevan where the Armenians paid twice as much as their Muslim neighbors (under the bash-puli), the government of Erevan assessed taxes by population numbers and not be religious affiliation. The Muslim population, four times larger than the Armenian, paid four times as much in taxes.[48]

Gifts

The khan received a large portion of his income from the many gifts he received on the New Year's Day and the various other holidays. The following table is a list of the gifts received by Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar on the morning of the Persian New Year. The total sum collected as the annual gift approached the naqd taxes paid by the entire population of the City of Erevan. Over and above the aforementioned gifts, the citizens of Erevan contributed sixty cones of sugar, and the mirboluks of Saotlin and Darakend-parcheni each brought a horse not less than twenty tomans in value. The mahal of Sharur would sometimes present cash crops (wheat and barley) for the sum of 460 tomans, instead of their customary cash gift of seventy tomans. This demonstrates the higher assessment if one paid in jens and also the scarcity of hard cash in a natural economy.[49]

The Khan of Erevan collected some indirect taxes in a direct fashion, for example, he received 680 tomans from

TABLE X

The New Year's Gifts Received by the Khan

From	Tomans	
Catholicos of the Armenians	400	(for tax exemption of the church)
The Armenian Church	150	
Ali Khan of Maku	300	(as rent for some villages)
Ali Khan of Maku	200	Bayramlik
Muslims of Erevan	70	"
Armenians of Erevan	30	"
Muslims of Zangi-basar	70	"
Armenians of Zangi-basar	18	"
Inhabitants of Garni-basar	70	"
Inhabitants of Vedi-basar	70	"
Sharur	70	"
Muslims of Surmalu	70	"
Armenians of Surmalu	30	"
Sardarabad Community	42	"
Karbi-basar Community	70	"
Total	1,590	Tomans

the Armenians owning vineyards, under the label of wine tax. The Muslims did not have to pay this tax since they did not engage in the making of wine.[50] Hoseyn Qoli Khan's large administrative apparatus would have been a drain on the treasury if he had not exacted a portion of the salaries of the bureaucrats from the population. For the various accountants (mirza) inhabiting the mahals he collected 156 tomans. The salary of each mirza was set at fifty tomans and the khan would then add the necessary amount from the treasury to pay the balance of their salaries. The livelihood of the mirabs of some of the mahals were sustained totally by the population of those mahals. The City of Erevan, and the mahals of Garni-basar, Karbi-basar, Vedi-basar, Sharur, and Surmalu paid the sardar 322 tomans for the upkeep of their mirabs. The mahals of Vedi-basar and Garni-basar gave an additional income to their mirabs due to a smaller cash contribution. The major tax for the upkeep of the officials came from the gulug-puli which was collected in kind. For the upkeep of the sarkars and their subordinates in the various mahals, the government received 1,389 tomans annually. The khan received cotton, tobacco, wheat, and barley (all cash crops) which he converted with a profit) to cash and paid his officials. An additional 2,520 tomans were collected annually for the numerous other officials in the khanate. Seventy-two tomans were collected annually from the City of Erevan for the salaries

of the night watchmen. Some communities hired reapers from the outside to help them gather the harvest. These men were paid a percentage (one-tenth to one-thirtieth) of the crop. The sardar, however, collected 400 tomans from the community to allow this utilization of labor.[51] In total 34,097 tomans were exacted in direct taxes.

Indirect Taxes

These taxes were usually farmed out to a tax collector, who paid the khan in advance. The tax farmer's losses were regained with some profit after he had collected the necessary dues from the inhabitants. These taxes were mainly collected in the City of Erevan, where grievances could be reported to Hoseyn Qoli Khan or his officials. The tax farmer usually did not exploit his right beyond his fair share.[52] In the rural areas, on the other hand, the tax farmer would have had extraordinary powers, as was the case in the other khanates. For this reason the khan preferred direct taxation in the countryside, thus avoiding unnecessary hardships on the peasantry and assuring the receipt of the entire revenue by the treasury. The farmed out taxes were as listed in Table XI.

Three important indirect taxes were not farmed out but were kept under the control of the khan himself. These were the salt mines of Kulb, the road tolls (rahdar), and the darughalik. The khan appointed special officials to each of the above, allowing them a salary and a percentage

TABLE XI

The Indirect Taxes of the Khanate of Erevan
That Were Farmed Out in 1825

From	Tomans
Shops of Erevan	1,260
Shops of Sardarabad	40
Dyers	1,245
Soapmakers	1,208
Gardens and Orchards Belonging to the Divan	835
Mills[53]	766
Weighing Machines in the Bazar[54]	715
Caravansaries and Chaparkhanehs	700
Baths	390
Rent from the Meydans	348
Mint	300
Boot and Shoemakers[55]	225
Wine Sellers	110
Fishing Rights in Lake Gogcheh	100
Tobacco and Snuff Sellers	72
Hide and Leather Dealers	50
Rent of Mulk Villages (5)	525
Vegetables from Khan's Mulk	20
Chicken and Eggs[56]	202

of the amount collected. The first two were great sources of income, and in the case of the salt, a monopoly. The last was an instrument of control and law and order. The three were inner connected and could not have been delegated to a tax farmer. The khan exacted fifty-four tomans as part of the annual salary of the darugheh from the residents of Erevan. At every new year the heads of the various quarters of Erevan paid an additional seventy tomans toward the salary of the darugheh, while the guilds paid 223 tomans for the upkeep of that official. All loads entering or leaving the city had to pay between four to seven shahis in darughalik taxes, which in 1825 totaled some 472 tomans.[57] Altogether the khan received 819 tomans in darughalik taxes from the inhabitants of Erevan, while he only paid the darugheh a set salary of 150 tomans.

The road tolls were an important source of revenue and assured the khanate of safe travelling conditions at a time when most areas in Persia suffered from brigandage.[58] It also assured the khan that no one would engage in trading items that were in his monopoly. Every item entering or leaving the khanate from the Ottoman Empire, Georgia (Russian Empire, and even Persia proper was charged a duty by the rahdar stations). Table XII lists the import-export items and the various duties attached to them. The total revenues from the rahdars in 1825 approached 2,500 tomans; from the City of Erevan alone, the mahals

TABLE XII

The Exports-Imports and Their Duties[59]

From	Item	Duty		
Persia	Cotton, Wool, Silk (woven)	Mule-load (kharvar)	1.5	tomans
		Horse-load	3	tomans
		Camel-load	6	tomans
	Coffee, Sugar	10 shahis to 0.5 toman a kharvar		
	Indigo	1	toman	"
	Raw Cotton	30	shahis	"
	Dried Fruit, Fruit Juices	27	shahis	"
Georgia	Cloth, Wine	0.5	toman	"
	Fruit and Nuts	27	shahis	"
	Wood	10	shahis	"
Ottoman Empire	Cloth, Coffee	0.5	toman	"
	Tobacco	0.5	toman	"
	Fruit	40	shahis	"
	Wood	10	shahis	"
To				
Persia, Georgia, and the Ottoman Empire				
	Cloth (Woolen)	0.5	toman	"
	Grain	40	shahis	"
	Raw Wood	0.5	toman	"
	Salt	18	shahis	"
	Indigo	1	toman	"
	Silk (Woven)	1.5	toman	"
	Silk (Raw)[60]	0.5	toman	"

added yet another 894 tomans in transport costs (this meant that the rural inhabitants travelling to the city also had to pay road tolls). Although at first glance this may seem unfair, the khan put the money collected from these tolls to good use. Numerous roads and guards guaranteed the safety and comfort of travellers and traders.

By far the most lucrative and important source of revenue came from the salt mines of Kulb. The sardar had the monopoly of all the salt sold or exported. The males of 173 families worked in the salt mines, producing between ten to thirty hunks of salt per male a day. Over half a million batman of salt was produced annually, which was used by half a million people in the surrounding areas. The khan exported the salt to Tiflis and Qarabagh, where it was used or reexported. Salt was a necessary item for making cheese and butter, and preserving fish. To compete with Turkish salt, the sardar exported his salt at half its local value. The Kulb community was organized as a separate entity outside its mahal. It had special mirzas to keep track of the salt and was governed by Ghafar Khan, who was directly responsible to the khan. The workers were among the best paid in the khanate. They purchased their food-stuff and other necessities from the nomads in the region. The khan assessed them thirty-four bunichehs of 255 tomans in mal taxes. The Armenian Church received an annual load of 200 kharvar of salt free of charge. The church, however,

claimed that one-third of the total salt belonged to it and that it was given to the church in 529 by the Emperor Justinian. For obvious reasons this claim was not honored by Hoseyn Qoli Khan. The religious groups did, however, receive salt on weddings and other ceremonies from the local population.[61] Table XIV indicates the various expenses and duties attached to the salt before it could be reached to and sold at the market. When the salt was exported the caravan-bashi and qaravul-bashi (heads of the caravan and the guards) took a percentage from each load, raising the price of salt even higher than indicated in the table. Altogether the khan received 3,500 tomans annually from the salt monopoly.[62]

TABLE XIII

Condensed Chart of the Taxes of Erevan in 1825

	Tomans
Direct Taxes	34,097
Indirect Taxes	16,834
Jihat Tax	76,300
Cherik	21,000
Corveé	6,000
Total	154,231

The total indirect taxes collected in 1825 were 16,834 tomans. In corvée the khan received 6,000 tomans

TABLE XIV

The Export and Sale of Salt in the Khanate of Erevan

Large chunks of salt, four pieces of which weighed 24 batman	
share of khan	20 shahis/kharvar
guard	1 shahi
mirza	0.5 shahi
worker	4 shahis
Small pieces weighing four times as much as the above	
share of khan	close to 1 toman per carriage
guard	5 shahis
worker	25 shahis
Ghafar Khan	1 shahi
Powdered salt in one batman sacks	
share of khan	15 shahis
guard	1 shahi
mirza	0.5 shahi
worker	1 shahi

of labor value. Unfortunately there are no figures regarding the amount of the religious donations in the Khanate of Erevan.

The total revenue received by the khan from the entire khanate, on the basis of still incomplete data, reached 155,000 tomans, which is also substantiated by the traveller Ker-Porter.[63] Nearly half (49%) of the revenue was in kind, 24.5 percent in cash, and 26.5 percent in various services and military duties. The small cash figure is an indication of the low development of capitalism in a natural economy.

The above taxes, although high for such a small area, nevertheless, supported the large bureaucracy and army of the Khanate of Erevan. It has to be noted that for the last two decades of Persian rule, the khanate functioned on the basis of a war economy. The expenditures for such an immense standing army, used for defense and offense, must have depleted much of the revenue. In 1829 the population complained to the Russian government that the Persians had overtaxed them and that the tax rolls were inaccurate. A survey, which has been a primary source in this work, was ordered by the new government. The survey indicated that the Persian tax rolls were not only fair but accurate as well.[64] The survey also made available a portion of the taxes paid in the Khanate of Nakhchevan during its Persian administration. Statistically a family

in the Khanate of Erevan paid the same amount of taxes as did a family in Nakhchevan.[65] Considering the relative wealth of the inhabitants of Erevan, the protection from irregular taxes, the safety of their roads, the abundance of food and animals, it becomes clear that the population of Erevan fared better than its neighbors, who had to pay the same taxes for much less benefits.

NOTES

1. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 266.
2. Ibid., pp. 266-267.
3. H. D. Papazian, Agrarnye otnosheniia v Vostochnoi Armenii v xvi-xviii vekakh (Erevan, 1972).
4. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 7, fol. 2a.
5. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 32, fol. 1a.
6. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 10, fol. 1a; MSS. 358, fol. 1g; MSS. 452, fol. 1d; MSS. 6, fol. 2a; MSS. 107b, fol. 2b.
7. Central Archives of the Azerbaidzhan Soviet Socialist Republic, Persian MSS. 7, fol. Khanate of Kuba, cited hereafter as Azerbaidzhan Archives.
8. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 270.
9. Fasa'i, op. cit., p. 82.
10. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 272.
11. Ibid., p. 273.
12. N. G. Bogdanova, Kolonial'naia politika Rossii na Kavkaze (Moscow, 1936), p. 202.
13. A. 'Atamalek Juvaini, Tarikh-e jahangoshay, III (Tehran, 1918), 23-24; V. Minorsky, "A Soyurghal of Qasim b. Jahangir Aq-Qoyunlu 903/1498," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (4, 1939), 930.
14. Papazian, op. cit., pp. 230-231; Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 70a, fol. 2a; Lambton, op. cit., p. 429.
15. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 11, fol. 2a; Papazian, op. cit., p. 236; Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 280.
16. Papazian, op. cit., p. 242.
17. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 268.

18. Azerbaidzhan Archives, Persian MSS. 7, fol. Khanate of Kuba.

19. Papazian, op. cit., pp. 240-245.

20. H. Rumlu, Ahsan ol-tavarikh, I (Baroda, 1931), 265-266; Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 273; Minorsky, op. cit., p. 948; Papazian, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

21. Petrushevskii, op. cit., p. 290.

22. Lambton, op. cit., p. 440; Papazian, op. cit., p. 239.

23. Papazian, op. cit., p. 237.

24. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 9, fol. 1a.

25. Shopen, op. cit., p. 1142; Zakaria Kanakertsi, Zakaria Sarkavaki patmagrutiun, I (Vagharshapat, 1870), 204; Abraham Kretatsi, Abraham Kretatsu patmagrutiun antsitsn iurots ev Natr-Shahin parsits (Vagharshapat, 1870), p. 278.

26. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 1119-1120; Papazian, op. cit., pp. 226-227; Adonts, op. cit., pp. 73-74; N. G. Bogdanova, K voprosu o feodal'noi eksploatatsii kochevnikov v Zakavkazskom krae v pervoi treti xix v., II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939), 54.

27. Ibid., II, 55.

28. Petrushevskii, op. cit., pp. 284-289. The Khan of Erevan demanded a corvée of 400 tomans (6,000 working days) from the inhabitants of Karbi-basar, Zangi-basar, Surmalu, Garni-basar, and the city of Erevan annually, Shopen, op. cit., p. 960.

29. Minorsky, op. cit., p. 950.

30. Matenadaran Archives, Persian MSS. 49, fol. 1a; MSS. 107a, fol. 2b; MSS. 44, fol. 2a.

31. Kretatsi, op. cit., p. 22.

32. I. P. Petrushevskii, Persidskie ofitsial'nye dokumenty kak istochniki po istorii feodal'nykh otnoshenii v Azerbaidzhane i Armenii v xvi - nachale xix vv. (Leningrad, 1940), p. 38.

33. Papazian, op. cit., pp. 245-246.

34. For the various types of land tenure see Chapter VI. The amount of this tax was 76,300 tomans, Shopen, op. cit., pp. 1135-1136.

35. The amount of this tax was 21,600 tomans. See Chapter V for services rendered by the nomads, Shopen, op. cit., pp. 1135-1136.

36. This tax was paid when cash was scarce and was different from the regular jihat tax.

37. The entire information on the various figures from here on is from the Russian survey cited in Shopen, op. cit., pp. 967-995, and will not be footnoted repeatedly unless new material is cited.

38. This is certainly different from Europe where the well-to-do managed to avoid their tax responsibility and increase the burden of the poor. See W. H. Lewis, The Splendid Century (New York, 1954).

39. As a result there are no accurate population figures during the Persian administration.

40. Aghayan, op. cit., V, 48.

41. Based on the population figures estimated in Chapters III and IV.

42. Armenian Archives, MSS. Group 1377, fol. 19, pp. 21-26b; Aghayan, op. cit., V, 52.

43. Aghayan, op. cit., V, 48.

44. Armenian Archives, MSS. Group 1377, fol. 19, p. 16b.

45. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 995-1058. See Chapter VI for more details.

46. As stated, the gypsy community of Erevan was Armenian in origin, Hakobian, op. cit., p. 209.

47. E. Shahaziz, Hin Erevane (Erevan, 1931), p. 60.

48. Shopen, op. cit., p. 1142.

49. See note 40 of this chapter.

50. The Chalmakhchi, Kanaker, and Gözal-qal'eh villages in the Qerq-bulagh mahal; the villages of Shirabad in Zangi-basar, and Ashtarak in Karbi-basar were the main wine-producing areas, Aghayan, op. cit., V, 49.

51. Adonts, op. cit., p. 67.

52. The prices of all items were state controlled and could not have been altered. For example, the price of dyeing wool and linen was 8 and 4 shahis respectively (per pound).

53. The khan had previously bought a mill close to the fortress which milled the necessary flour for his own use. He did not wish to eat bread made of taxed flour which would have been haram.

54. Adonts, op. cit., p. 69. For rates charged see Chapter V.

55. The tax farmer collected 3 shahis for every shoe and 6 shahis for every boot made in the City of Erevan.

56. These were collected by bunichehs; 6 hen and 12 eggs per bunicheh.

57. See Table XX in appendix.

58. Morier, op. cit., p. 83.

59. The qaravuls and rahdars received 5 shahis per mule-load. A horse-load (buyuk) consisted of 40 batman; a camel-load 80; and a mule-load 20. The duty on a horse-load, therefore was twice as much as a kharvar and half as much as a camel-load, Shopen, op. cit., pp. 882-883.

60. The qaravul-bashi and the caravan-bashi received 0.25 shahi; the darugheh and the nightwatchmen of the bazar and the caravansary received 6 shahis and 2 dinars respectively. The cost of the caravansary storage was 1 shahi per night per buyuk. There was no need for qaravuls if the wares travelled to Tabriz or within the borders of the khanate. This was due to the safety of the roads, Adonts, op. cit., p. 68; Shopen, op. cit., pp. 883-885.

61. Ibid., pp. 819-826.

62. Ibid., pp. 827-832.

63. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 202, estimates it to have been 150,000 tomans.

64. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 1059-1118.

65. From less than 25,000 people, Nakhchevan collected close to 37,000 tomans. When multiplied by four (to equal the population of the Khanate of Erevan) the taxes gathered in the Khanate of Nakhchevan approach the same sum as in Erevan.

CHAPTER VIII

URBAN AND RURAL SOCIETY: THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE KHANATE

The Urban Society

Compared to its size, the city has played a far greater role in the functioning of society. Although the urban groups were mainly responsible for the major achievements of their societies, never more than 10 percent of the population of the ancient world was urban. This is as true for the Islamic Near East as it was for the Ancient Near East.[1] Although Islamic civilization was urban, easily 90 percent of the population was involved in agriculture. In fact the people seldom ventured more than a few miles from their villages.

Among the myriad definitions of the city that have been attempted, most agree that the function of the city first and foremost is economical, a center for gathering and distributing goods. Its power structure allows it to extend its influence and, preferably, its control over an area wider than the necessary, just for self-sufficiency. In other words, the city is a tool for extracting surplus from its surrounding agricultural region and continually

expanding this amount of surplus to benefit, through specialization of production, an increasingly sophisticated social hierarchy.[2]

The pre-industrial cities everywhere display striking resemblances in their social and ecological structures, not necessarily in specific cultural content, but certainly in basic form.[3] The cities are the center of the elite and its adjuncts, who by various techniques control the countryside and the mass population. According to Sjoberg, the elite,

> through an appropriate ideology, reinforced by coercion in the form of taxes and tributes, induces the peasantry to increase its production and to relinquish some of its harvest to the urban community. In other words, it must persuade many persons subsisting, relative to industrial standards, on the very margins of existence, under conditions of near starvation or malnutrition, to surrender food or other items that they themselves can readily use.[4]

The Khanate of Erevan was no exception. Its ruling class, consisting of 5 percent of the population, centered in the City of Erevan.[5] As landowners, the elite had rural connections, but was not rural in character. The city offered protection from the hazards that plagued the countryside, such as foreign invasions; it allowed the various religious, bureaucratic, and military groups of the elite to concentrate their power and to communicate their cultural values. The rural areas of the khanate did not have the sufficient means to support a true elite; all had to work for a living. The city, on the other hand,

could feed scribes, artisans, bureaucrats, merchants and others on the surplus collected from the countryside. The size of the elite depended on the surplus. The elite of Erevan was small because the surplus was small. In larger cities elites were larger. Isfahan, during the height of the Safavids, boasted a much larger population and elite than Erevan, during the Qajar period.[6] However, not only was Isfahan the capital of Persia but it had also the entire province of 'Araq-e 'Ajam for its surplus.

The elite held power in a web of relationships which tied together the interests of divergent occupation groups (the military, the bureaucracy, and the religious sector) in insuring their privileged life-style. The elite in Persian society was a combination of the military leaders, the higher bureaucratic officials, the most eminent religio-educational figures, and a very few of the merchant class. Although wealth was not necessarily a criterion for belonging to the elite, of course it increased a member's power. The elite was carefully bound together with the bonds of the extended family. In the 1820's, as it is today, it was not unusual to see a family place a member in each of the crucial power areas. Besides the elite, society was divided between the governing and the governed or the upper and lower classes. Within these two broad distinctions were, of course, numerous stratifications. Social class as a historical tool must be utilized with great

care when applied to traditional societies. The most useful definition for our purposes of social class is,

> A body of people who occupy a position in a social hierarchy by reasons of their having a similar objective criteria. This includes kinship, power and authority, achievement, possessions, religious, and . . . personal mannerisms.[7]

In a pre-industrial society, the elite's occupations were rated highly, while the lower class' activities were not. But all "respectable" classes looked down on the outcast group, which performed tasks that were considered foul and dirty and, therefore, frowned on by the society.[8]

The City of Erevan in the Life of Its Inhabitants

Located in the center of the khanate, the City of Erevan, as already stated, was composed of three quarters which themselves were subdivided into subquarters (mahalleh).[9]

TABLE XV

The Quarters and Subquarters of Erevan[10]

Shahri Quarter	Tapeh-bashi Quarter	Demir-bulagh Quarter
'Abbas-dareh	Ab-o-hayat	Sabzikari
Keshaghli	Qezel-qal'eh	Khosrowabad
	Dareh-bagh	
	Dareh-kend	
	Noragöl	
	Dalma	

There were 1,736 houses in the City of Erevan, 792 of which were in the Shahri district, 622 in the Tapeh-bashi, and only 322 in the Demir-bulagh. Almost each house had a garden which produced various fruits and vegetables. On an average, five members constituted the typical household.[11]

After a period of stagnation, commercial life in the Khanate of Erevan was beginning to increase in importance. Until the sixteenth century the khanate had been located on a major international trade route. But, with the shifting of routes, by European incursion into the markets of the East, the Persian Gulf and the Atlantic, away from the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Caspian, the area suffered a decline in trade. In 1801, with the Russian annexation of Eastern Georgia, a new demand for the goods and proto-industrial crops of the khanate emerged. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, with the reactivation of the Black Sea trade (via Trebizond and Batum) and the beginning of Russian trade, the Khanate of Erevan, once more, served as an entrepot of Persian, Russian, and western goods. The khan's cotton and wool found their way to Russian factories.[12] In 1820-1821 one-fifth (quarter of a million pounds sterling) of the Persian exports went to Tiflis. Russian wares came to Persia from Tiflis via Erevan and the Caspian Sea.[13] Although there are no figures on the exact number of goods passing through

Erevan, the large revenue collected by the sardar in rahdar duties indicates a substantial trade activity.[14]

The great covered bazar, which was in the center of the seven caravansaries of the city, had 291 shops and could be entered through the Shahri district and exited through the Tapeh-bashi. The Georgian (Gorji) caravansary was the center for items arriving from or departing to Georgia and was by far the largest, having seventy-eight shops under its eyvans.[15] The Julfa'i caravansary concentrated on the goods coming from and going to Persia proper (Tabriz) via Nakhchevan, and had thirty-eight shops. Five other caravansaries, the Zohrab Khan, the Taher, the Suli, the Susli, and the Hajji 'Ali with 152 shops in total served as foreign depots. The caravansary of Hajji 'Ali had a reputation of being the most comfortable. As in other Persian cities the shop districts were concentrated, with only the bakers and grocers being scattered. There were eighteen grocers and bakers in the Shahri, four in the Tapeh-bashi, and two in the Demir-bulagh quarters.

The commercial groups in the city fell into four categories. The sowdagar (tojjar in Persian) were the most successful and esteemed; these import-export traders had no shops but were brokers and wholesalers (few of the tojjar would have sufficient wealth to be accepted by the elite). The binahdars, the second group, owned the large shops in the bazar and usually specialized in their wares.

The bazaz, the third group, were small shopowners specializing in cloth, who occasionally sold from door to door. The charchi, the last group, were peddlers selling their various goods throughout the countryside.

In the City of Erevan, according to the Russian survey of 1829, there were four Muslim khans, fifty-one begs, nineteen mirzas, fifty mullas, thirty-nine seyyeds, and three dervishes. The Armenians had eight meliks, one mirza, and thirteen priests.[16] The numbers of the religious hierarchy in the listing would seem to give this group a far greater share of power than was actually the case. In reality, however, only the most eminent individuals, such as the Sheikh ul-Islam, the Imam Jum'a and the mujtahids, could be considered part of the elite. The vast majority of the mullas, although having prestige and social control in their immediate neighborhoods, did not have the power but lived a rather poverty-stricken existence.[17] The most consistent source of income for the mulla was the support of a vaqf which paid his room and board in exchange for teaching in the madrasseh (religious school).[18] This income he supplemented with private tutoring for the sum of ten shahis per child/per month.[19] Weddings, funerals, circumcisions, procuring talismans, acting as witness, and other public ceremonies and functions were also sources of income.[20]

Besides the two mosques in the fortress, six mosques served the need of the city's Muslim population. These were the Hoseyn 'Ali Khan, the Zali Khan, the Nowruz 'Ali-beg, the Sartip Khan, the Hajji Imam-verdi, and the Hajji J'afar-beg. Seven churches served the needs of the Armenian population. These were Shogakat Astvatsatsin, Surb Lusavorich, Surb Hakob, Surb Hovhaness, Surb Stephanos, Surb Poghos-Petros in the city and Surb Grigor in the fortress. Both the Muslim and the Armenian religious institutions supported students. Two hundred students alone were educated and supported by vaqf at the Hoseyn 'Ali Khan mosque. The Armenian churches had eighty students. The Muslim curriculum consisted of three branches of learning: al-Arabiyat or languages (Persian, Arabic, Turkish, etymology, syntax, and rhetoric) and history; al-Shar' or the study of the ulum-e tafsir (Qur'an), ulum-e hadith, figh (jurisprudence), ulum-e kalam (recitation and preaching), ulum-e farayez (law); and al-hikma or the study of philosophy, logic, geography, astronomy, medicine, and mathematics. The Armenian churches taught religion, geography, the Armenian language and history, and mathematics.[21]

Associated with the mosques were the eight baths (hamam) of Erevan. The Shahri district had four hamam: the Sheikh ul-Islam, the Zali Khan, the Mehdi-beg, and the Hajji beygum, the latter of which belonged to the primary wife of the khan. The other two quarters had

four baths: the Sheikh ul-Islam, the Hajji 'Ali, the Hajji Fath 'Ali, and the Karim-beg. The income of at least one of the baths (the Sheikh ul-Islam) was donated in form of vaqf to the Friday Mosque (Hoseyn 'Ali Khan).[22] The mosques, baths, caravansaries, meydans, and the bazar formed the nucleus of the city, where all important events occurred. The darugheh, kalantar, mohtaseb, and all the various city officials, traders, artisans, and others gathered here daily to perform their tasks, collect dues, sell or buy wares, drink coffee or tea, and smoke their qelians (water-pipe).

As a pre-industrial city, Erevan was characterized by the intense specialization of professions. Shopen lists over seventy professions ranging from sieve makers to pigeon sellers. Other than the smallest professions, which had only a few members and some of which were even part-time, all were organized into senfs, or, as they were called in the Caucasus, hamkar (guild) structure.

As already stated the hamkars functioned to maintain a monopoly over a product or area of economic activity. They also managed to control the market so that each member would have a livelihood; to ensure quality and establish minimum prices; to serve as a welfare organization; and to act as a pressure group to protect the interests of the senf members.[23] In order to foster a corporate spirit most hamkars participated in some type of ceremonial

activity, usually religious, around a patron "saint." Trade associations also served as a source of capital formation: a member who wished to open a new shop or acquire a supply of raw materials would be funded by the asnaf as a unit.[24]

More than 1,400 Muslim and 450 Armenian artisans lived in the City of Erevan in the second decade of the nineteenth century.[25] The guilds of Erevan were not divided on religious lines. Only nine of the thirty-four urban professions listed in Erevan, having five or more members, were exclusively Muslim; none was exclusively Armenian.[26] Of these nine, three were involved with the production of food; slaughterers, coffee and tea makers, and roast-beet sellers (laboo furush). Food production on the whole was very heavily Muslim. Of the ninety-seven grocers (baqal) in Erevan, one was Armenian; of the thirty-nine bakers, two were Armenian. Milling, however, had a more equal distribution; nine Muslims and eight Armenians were millers. Personal services were performed by Muslims, all of the bath attendants (hamamchi) and fifty of the fifty-nine barbers (dalak), who also served as doctors, were Muslim. It is possible that, under the religious restrictions in the city, these professions excluded Christians as "unclean" (najes).

Both Muslims and Armenians had members in the trading and banking professions. The charchi, the bazaz, and the

saraf (money exchanger), fourteen in number, were exclusively Muslim. It is surprising that the money lenders were all Muslim, for usually in the Near East non-Muslims were prevalent in this profession. The tojjar although heavily Muslim had a substantial Armenian minority, which corresponded to the ratio of the Muslims and Armenians of the population. Those who sold items from door to door, with the exception of one Armenian, were exclusively Muslim. The one junk dealer of the khanate was Armenian.

Armenians dominated the highly skilled craft of metalworking. Only one Muslim was enrolled among the coppersmiths and weaponmakers. Silverworking was divided between seventeen Armenians and ten Muslims. However, those who specialized in engraving were all Muslim, as were the watchmakers.[27] Blacksmithing was one-third Armenian and two-thirds Muslim, yet the iron dealers were all Muslim. The textile workers involved the largest occupational groups after the traders. The gardeners (baghban), who far outdistanced any other group numerically (612 Muslims and 56 Armenians) indicate the importance of gardens and orchards in the city and the khanate. Textiles contained the most equal division between Muslim and Christian. The number of Armenians in the silk industry which they had dominated under the Safavids, had declined in Erevan, although they were still a majority (36 Armenians to 31 Muslims). Tailors were evenly divided between Muslim and

Armenian; weavers of cloth were heavily Armenian; while the nine dyers were composed of six Muslims and three Armenians. The makers of the giveh (a kind of a shoe made of cotton) and hats were predominantly Persian, although each had a substantial Armenian membership. Other industries were fairly well distributed between the two groups; such as the cobblers, the tanners, the saddlemakers, and the carpenters. The turners, on the other hand, were exclusively Muslim.

Some of the professions, the slaughterers, tanners, mordehshurs, and gravediggers were regarded as undesirable and "unclean." Their practitioners were forced to live outside the city. Another group of semi-outcasts were the lutis. Somewhat like the knight-errants, they were a paramilitary group tinged with religious mysticism and ceremonies associated with the futuwwa.[28] In the accounts of the luti organizations during the Qajar period, a group of the lumpenproletariat, the dash, awbash, chaqukesh, and gardankoloft (ruffians and thicknecks) were frequently included with the luti.[29] The ruffians and the group of acrobats and buffoons (or the entertainment group) of the naqarehkhaneh and the hooligans did not constitute true lutis. The lutis were those who formed a social and gymnastic club, centered around the zurkhaneh (a place of wrestling and other sportlike exercises), and among whom the ideal of futuwwat and javanmardi (bravery, generosity,

and manliness) constituted a strong and spiritual bond.[30] Although the first two groups are mentioned in the Khanate of Erevan, there is no information on the luti organization.[31]

Although the population had increased through the policies of an enlightened governor, the city's main function was to serve the khan, the administration, and the military.[32] Nearly 2,000 artisans lived in Erevan, which existed not for its productive capacity, but as a fortress and a marketplace.[33] Erevan came into prominence because of its agricultural wealth, its strategic position, and its defenses and not its local industry. When compared to other cities, Isfahan for example, Erevan's local industry had fundamental differences. After a hundred years of severe disturbances and reduction of resources, Isfahan still supported 180 professions and a sophisticated export industry of textiles. In Isfahan more than thirty professions alone dealt in weaving and exporting cloth, while in Erevan the professions produced mostly for domestic consumption.[34]

The Rural Society

The ra'yat (peasant), who was recognized by every Muslim political theorist as the basis of the state's prosperity, bore the brunt of the state's oppression and exploitation. Although numerous travellers wrote of the

TABLE XVI

The Professions in the City of Erevan

Occupation	Muslim	Armenian
Grocers	96	1
Pastry and Sweetsellers	1	-
Coffee Sellers	1	-
Coffee and Tea Makers	13	-
Bakers	37	2
Millers	9	8
Slaughterers/butchers	25	-
Fish Sellers[35]	-	3
Laboo-furush	5	-
Herb Sellers	-	1
Potterers[36]	1	-
Hamamchi	11	-
Dalak	50	9
Doctors (hakim)	1	3
Chiropractors	-	2
Ironers[37]	4	-
Engravers	5	-
Iron Dealers	7	-
Blacksmiths	24	12
Tinkers	18	3
Minters[38]	-	1
Coppersmiths	1	27
Weaponmakers	1	25
Jewelers	10	17
Watchmakers	2	-
Plasterers	2	-
Adobe Makers	2	-
Stone Cutters	20	6
Tile Makers	2	-
Painters	2	-

TABLE XVI (continued)

Occupation	Muslim	Armenian
Wood Carvers	1	-
Carpenters	5	9
Turners	4	-
Cart and Wagonmakers	74	5
Pipemakers (qalian)	1	-
Sherbet Dealers	2	-
Giveh Makers	95	33
Rope Weavers	4	-
Tentmakers	1	-
Dressmakers	2	-
Tailors	19	-
Cloth Weavers	3	12
Hatmakers	71	8
Carpet Weavers	5	-
Silk Weavers	3	-
Silk Merchants	31	36
Wool Beaters	7	1
Dyers[39]	6	3
Tanners	26	12
Bootmakers	1	1
Cobblers	1	1
Saddlemakers	13	18
Firecracker Seller	2	-
Musical Instrument Makers and Sellers	3	-
Musicians (zurnachi)	5	5
Baghbans[40]	612	56
Baghchehban (special green-produce gardner)	1	-
Piegon Sellers	1	-
Candlemakers	4	2
Soapmakers	3	-

TABLE XVI (continued)

Occupation	Muslim	Armenian
Peddlers, Carriers (hammal) and Criers	28	-
Junk Dealers	-	1
Street Vendors[41]	43	1
Money-Lenders/Exchangers (saraf)	14	-
Merchants	151	32
Bazazes	1	21

degraded position of the peasantry and the difficult life which they had to endure, more detailed information about the conditions of the farmers is generally lacking. The British traveller James Morier, in 1809, gave the following description of a Persian village in Azarbayjan,

> The village consisted of huts, surrounding an old square fort on a hill. Our lodging was a covered building, in the roof of which were two small holes to admit light; and in the interior of which a square of twenty feet was parted off by a wall three feet high, for the residence of the master, while the remainder was reserved for his cattle.[42]

He also observed,

> The villager groans under the oppression but in vain shrinks from it, every argument of his poverty is answered, if by nothing else, at least by the bastinado.[43]

The Armenian author Abovian, speaking of his village, states,

> Every summer the sarkar arrived at our village [Kanaker] to collect the taxes. Although he could have done his duty in a few days, he would stay the entire summer receiving the best food and living in the best house. His servant would daily take anything he needed and failure to comply was answered by destruction and ruin.[44]

There is some evidence of the condition of the peasants in the Khanate of Erevan. There, the Armenian and Persian peasants were dealt with on the same terms. In the eyes of the khan, Armenian and Muslim ra'yats both were just sources of taxation. In fact, the sarkar arrived so early and stayed so late because he wanted to insure that no grain of corn or animal escaped his eye before and during the harvest. The tax figures of Mirza Isma'il, which

assessed the peasants equally, clearly indicate that there was no discrimination based on religion. Perhaps more concrete evidence are the charts listing the number of animals held by each religious group. For the peasant, the most important animal was his ox or bullock. This animal insured his participation in the hampa system, the land distribution of the village, and allowed him to claim a sufficient share of the bahrehganeh of the crops necessary for his livelihood. The percentage of oxen, cattle, mules, and asses, in proportion to the size of the population, was the same for Persian and Armenian. In the charts the figures of the remainder of the animals (horses, sheep, goats, and camels) which appear to favor the Muslim population vary completely when the number of animals owned by the nomadic population is deducted. The number of sheep and goats per Armenian family was five, which corresponds to the holdings of these animals by the settled population rather than nomadic. The size of the holdings was severely limited by the forage available within grazing distances from the village.[45]

A basic aspect of peasant agriculture was the communal land distribution of the village. The village was divided into the farming and communal grazing areas on an open field common pasture system. The village elders divided the agricultural plots according to the number of animals, people, and laborers in the family. They made sure that

TABLE XVII

The Distribution of Domestic Animals in the Khanate

Animals	Muslim Holdings	Armenian Holdings	Price
Oxen	8,541	3,519	5 to 10 tomans
Cattle (cows and bulls)	45,508	10,713	2 to 5 tomans (depending on animal)
Camels	295	12	5 to 25 tomans
Horses	10,040	1,278	4 to 10 tomans (some reached 75 tomans)
Mules	34	19	12 to 75 tomans
Asses	1,922	605	1 to 2 tomans (Anatolian 3 to 5 tomans)
Pigs[46]	-	60	-
Sheep and Goats	150,000	15,000	0.5 to 1 toman, lambs 0.25 toman
Fowl	On the average each family (both Muslim and Armenian) had at least ten domestic birds.[48]		

each family received an equitable portion of the good and bad lands of the village. The territory of the large villages were farmed communally, while in the small villages each plot was farmed by a single family. Agricultural lands followed the two-field rotation system. Under the two-field plan half the plot was planted while the other half was left fallow. In Erevan, the richest agricultural regions yielded two harvests a year, the main winter planting harvested in April (usually millet), and the spring planting harvested in fall (usually wheat). Marginal lands were left fallow one to three years. The perennial problem of restoring fertility of soil exhausted by repeated harvests was only partially solved by the use of animal fertilizer, and night soil, in areas near the city. The area that the villages farmed was limited by a technology which depended most heavily on the ox as the primary farming animal. An ox moved so slowly that it was impossible to extend the area farmed very far. On areas which required greater dexterity of foot, such as hillside fields, horses and mules were used to pull the plow.[49] The lands under cultivation were farmed by a scratch plow which is still widely used in arid countries. Because the share is triangular and lacks a mold board it does not turn over the soil, but leaves a wedge of earth untouched between each furrow. In order to thoroughly plow a field, cross-plowing was necessary. Fields which had been cross-plowed

were usually square in shape. The shallow draught of the scratch plow helped to prevent extreme erosion of the soil in dry areas and cross-plowing tended to prevent exessive loss of moisture from the dry soil.[50]

Irrigation played an important role in the life of the peasant. The scarcity of rain would normally result in the area being extremely poor in people and soil. But the khanate was populous and one of the major granaries of Persia, particularly of rice. This discrepancy can be explained by the art of irrigation, in which the inhabitants of the khanate excelled. From its source in the hills, streams, or rivers, the water was conducted by irrigation canals into the fields. These canals sometimes extended twenty or more miles. The water not only irrigated the meadows, fields, gardens, but turned the mills of the villages. The water was divided among the villagers according to their need and type of produce. As soon as one field received its necessary supply of water, the farmers would raise the dams holding the water and it flowed into the next field. In higher plateau, as already stated, the qanat chains supplied the necessary water. A whole system of control was devised by the peasants and the administration to ensure that all were dealt with fairly.[51]

The major crops grown were wheat, barley, rice, cotton, millet, flax, and oil seeds. The percentages were wheat 55.76 percent, barley 18.59 percent, millet 3.72 percent,

rice 9.27 percent, cotton 11.16 percent, flax and oil seeds 1.50 percent. Fifteen thousand khravar wheat seed was planted yielding 75,000 kharvar annually (5 to 1); 5,000 kharvar barley seed yielded 30,000 kharvar (6 to 1); 1,000 kharvar millet produced 10,000 kharvar (10 to 1); and 2,500 kharvar rice yielded 40,000 kharvar of rice (16 to 1). Rice grew mainly in the well-watered mahals of Karbi-Basar, Zangi-basar, Garni-basar, and Sharur.

Deducting the seedcorn for the next harvest (one-fifth), the divan's share, and the minimum mulkdar or tuyuldar share, the peasants were left with approximately 450 pounds of wheat per person per year; 170 pounds of barley; 225 pounds of rice, and 67.5 pounds of millet for a total of 912.5 pounds of grain per person annually, or two pounds per person daily.[52] The milling, according to Shopen, reduced the bulk of the unmilled grain by half.[53] Taxation took almost half of the yield of silk, tobacco, opium (grown only in Gogcheh mahal), oil seeds, cotton, and flax crops.[54] The remainder was frequently used in place of cash to pay the mal tax.[55] Other export crops were cochineal, which was the source of the highly prized red dye of Erevan. Bees-wax, honey, and fish were also a source of food, income, and taxes in the khanate. Wine which was one item solely produced by Armenians, was consumed by everyone. Winemaking must have been a lucrative

enterprise for wine was the most expensive commodity following tobacco.

The mahals had 1,857 gardens and orchards which produced some 2.5 million pounds of grapes, and an equal amount of fruit annually.[56] Besides a tremendous variety of grapes, the khanate produced apples, quinces, pears, plums, apricots, figs, peaches, cherries, mulberries, various nuts, watermellons, melons, onions, cucumbers, and the various greens of Persia. Table XVIII lists the current (1820's) prices of the various products available in the Khanate of Erevan.[57]

The rural areas were not devoid of professional artisans. Some of these lived in the various villages, while others travelled in the rural towns performing the necessary services. The occupation groups in the mahals were dominated by the Armenians. Even the professions dominated by Muslims in the city were here staffed by Armenians. Since the rural areas produced their own foodstuff, the few Armenians in the food supplies served local Armenian communities and did not have to face the najes label. Of the nineteen tojjar listed only three were Muslim. The moneylenders, as well as the street vendors in the mahals, were Armenian. Armenians dominated the service industries, but in the textile and metalworks the major differentiation is found. The weaving industry, probably conducted on a cottage industry basis, was in the hands

TABLE XVIII

Prices of Produce in the Khanate

Produce	Highest Quality	Poor Quality
Wheat (1,000 lbs.)	3 tomans	1.5 tomans
Barley	2 "	1
Rice	3 "	2.5
Millet	1.5 "	0.5
Cotton	51 "	30
Tobacco	40 "	12.5
Sesame Oil	8 "	3.5
Flax	6 "	4
Castor Oil[58]	6 "	4
Honey (10 lbs.)	0.5 "	-
Wine (vessels of 500 lbs.)	10 "	6
Fish (each)	10 shahis	-
Milk and Cheese (1 batman)	20 tomans	-
Butter (batman)	0.5 "	-
Silk (1 lb.)	10 "	-
Fruit in General (10 lbs.)	10 shahis	-
Linseed Oil (batman)	12 tomans	8
Charcoal (buyuk)	0.5 "	-
Dried Manure Bricks (buyuk)	20 shahis	
Soda-ash Soap (kharvar)	5 tomans	4
Animal Fodder (kharvar)	0.5 "	-

of over 650 Armenians. The thread spinners and tailors were also Armenian. All told, 805 Armenians were involved in all aspects of clothmaking and merchandising, while only thirty-six Muslims were employed. In the professions of coppersmith and weaponmaker the Armenian urban dominance was maintained, while the professions of furriers and tinkers were now controlled by the Armenians. Even the watchmaker was an Armenian. A total of 127 Armenians and seven Muslims engaged in metal working. While the Armenian carpenters outnumbered the Muslim carpenters in the city nine to five, in the mahals they outnumbered them fifty-three to one.

The extraordinary ascendancy of the Armenians in the various professions in the mahals, although the Armenian population was less than half of the settled Muslim population, indicates that they were in an extremely favorable economic situation. Moreover, since the Armenian population was concentrated, almost totally, in the mahals adjoining Erevan and the goods that they produced were marketed in that city, the Armenian tradesmen effectively dominated the production of the entire province. Table XIX is an indication of the many professions practiced in the rural areas.

In general less is known of the conditions of the rural population. Evidences of peasant disaffection do not appear in the khanate. When oppressed beyond all hope

TABLE XIX

The Professions in the Mahals

Profession	Muslim	Armenian
Grocers	-	1
Bakers	-	1
Millers[59]	17	19
Butchers (slaughterers)	1	-
Fish Sellers	-	2
Potterers	1	19
Hamamchi (bath attendants)	-	1
Dalak (barbers)	16	33
Doctors	2	-
Chiropractors	-	2
Cotton Weavers	-	2
Blacksmiths	4	77
Tinkers	3	23
Coppersmiths	-	3
Weaponmakers	-	7
Silver Workers	-	2
Iron Dealers and Workers	-	5
Watchmakers	-	1
Carpenters	1	53
Cart and Carriage Makers	-	11
Utensilmakers	-	1
Oil Sellers[60]	-	2
Sievemakers	-	1
Candlemakers	-	2
Charcoal Sellers[61]	-	2
Plasterers	-	3
Stone Masons	2	11
Brickmaker	-	1
Tilemaker	-	2

TABLE XIX (continued)

Profession	Muslim	Armenian
Tanners	1	9
Cobblers and Shoemakers	2	10
Saddlemakers	-	9
Bridlemakers	-	7
Musicians	5	19
Gardeners	1	15
Moneylenders	-	1
Merchants	3	16
Bazazes	-	9
Outdoor Vendors	1	12
Giveh Makers	1	4
Rope Weavers	-	5
Dyers[62]	2	18
Tailors	2	30
Weavers and Clothmakers[63]	26	652
Hatmakers	-	3
Wool Spinners	5	90
Silk Spinners and Sellers	-	3
Soapmakers[64]	474	-
Breeding Services[65]	unspecified number	
Herb and Dried Fruit Sellers[66]	unspecified number	
Hawk Catchers[67]	unspecified number	
Snake Catchers[68]	unspecified number	
Chugan (chubak in Persian) Sellers (soda-ash soap)	unspecified number	
Boatmen[69]	unspecified number	

peasants fled the land; since there are no traveller accounts of cultivated areas being abandoned during the rule of Hoseyn Qoli Khan, it is safe to state that the rural elements were not treated basely by the khan's administration. This is substantiated by the fact that the sardar fostered a policy of repopulating lands left fallow since the mid-eighteenth century. He attracted peasants from the neighboring khanates by charging less taxes on fallow lands. Another sure indication of peasant unrest is a marked increase in brigandage and the number of ruffians in the city, neither witnessed in the Khanate of Erevan.[70] A positive indication of the well-being of the peasants and the population at large is the limited number of ranjbars in the khanate and the lower tax rate in the rural areas. The above conditions did not prevail in the other areas of Persian Transcaucasia. In Nakhchevan, for example, the peasants were at the mercy of the landlords, while in Darband the condition of the farmers was so severe that uprisings occurred.[71] It is difficult to accurately determine the conditions of the peasants in the early nineteenth-century Persia, however, the information available in the Khanate of Erevan strikes one as being free from the extremes of oppression.

NOTES

1. R. McAdams, "Patterns of Urbanization in Early Southern Mesopotamia," Man, Settlement and Urbanization, ed. by E. Ucko (London, 1972), p. 735.

2. On the definition of surplus see Marvin Harris, "The Economy Has No Surplus," American Anthropologist, LXI (April, 1951), 185-199.

3. Sjoberg, op. cit., p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 118.

5. The total population of the City of Erevan at the time of the last khan is estimated to have been 15,000 people, or 15 percent of the entire population of the khanate. The City of Erevan was the only urban center. Although the population concentrations of Uch-kilisa and Sardarabad, one the center of the Armenian Church, the other a site of a fortress, had begun to approach urban levels, they still operated mainly as market and administrative centers.

6. The estimated population of Isfahan was 400,000 people.

7. Sjoberg, op. cit., p. 109.

8. Ibid., p. 110. It is essential to understand that the traditional societies are based, not on class antagonism in the Marxist sense, but on the notion of society as a deference institution. Most members of the society accept their position and social standing and accept the values and standing of the elite as superior to their own.

9. Unfortunately there is no information on the various factions within each quarter witnessed in other towns of Persia.

10. The information for the charts, tables, and figures is from the Russian survey cited in Shopen, op. cit., and will not be cited repeatedly.

11. In the mid-seventeenth century there were only 800 houses in the City of Erevan, Hakobian, op. cit., p. 244.

12. C. Issawi, "The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," International Journal of Middle East Studies (1, 1970), 18-27; G. S. Isaev, Rol' tekstilnoi promyshlennosti v genezise i razvitii kapitalizma v Rossii, 1780-1860 (Leningrad, 1970); J. T. Alexander, "Catherine II, Bubonic Plague and the Problem of Industry in Moscow," The American Historical Review, LXXIX (3, 1974), 637-671.

13. G. I. Ter-Gukasov, Politicheskie i ekonomicheskie interesy Rossii v Persii (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 35-36.

14. See Chapter VII for more details.

15. Price, op. cit., p. 11.

16. A further evidence of the elite gathering in the city is demonstrated by the fact that the mahals combined had only 3 khans, 150 begs, 140 religious figures, and 15 Armenian officials. Erevan with only 15 percent of the total population had nevertheless such a large number of officials residing in it.

17. There is evidence that some of the mullas worked on the land, Akty, op. cit., VII, 432.

18. For further details on the functions of the madrasseh see Gibb and Kramer, op. cit.

19. The mulla had to teach twenty private students, in addition to his public duties, to earn the sum of one toman per month.

20. See Chapter V for more details.

21. The Armenian students in Erevan did not study Persian but the community at Uch-kilisa studied that language and hired a Persian instructor on an annual basis.

22. Religion had great influence in the City of Erevan, as it did in other parts of Persia. The city was populated by 85 hajjis, 158 mashhadis, and 105 karbala'is. These were persons who had spent large sums to go to the various pilgrimages (Mecca hajj cost 150 tomans, Mashhad 75, and Karbala 50 tomans). The mahals altogether had just over 300 of these individuals. This, once more, emphasizes the economic well-being of the khanate and the concentration of the capital in the city.

23. Abrahamian, op. cit., pp. 32-42.

24. Egiazarov, op. cit., II, 252-253.

25. There were 645 Muslim artisans in the Shahri, 504 in the Tapeh-bashi, and 287 in the Demir-bulagh quarter; there were 229 Armenian professionals in Shahri, and 239 in Tapeh-bashi. Armenians did not reside in the Demir-bulagh quarter.

26. Assuming a very limited number of individuals in a profession would not have sufficient economical strength to perform some of the major guild functions, an arbitrary number of five members (separate shops) is presumed to have been the number at which guild structure was feasible.

27. It is interesting to note that the trade of watch-making, which in Safavid times was so exclusively European, had by this time found Persian specialists.

28. A code of chivalry and proper behavior which had first appeared in the eighth century, and which had become combined with Sufism and professional groups. This code had been adopted by organization of young men, the 'ayarun (vagrants), who possessed an elementary antagonism to the rich and to the political structures of the towns. The code enjoyed the popularity among the lower classes and thieves, who robbed the rich and gave to the poor. For more details see article by F. Taerchner, "Futuwwa," Encyclopedia of Islam (2nd. ed.; Leiden, 1974), pp. 961-969.

29. W. M. Floor, "The Lutis-A Social Phenomenon in Qajar Persia," Die Welt des Islams (1-2, 1971), 103.

30. Ibid., p. 118.

31. Kotzebue, op. cit., p. 74; Shopen, op. cit., pp. 855-856.

32. Hambly, op. cit., p. 71.

33. M. Weber, Economy and Society, III (New York, 1968), 1223-1225.

34. Mirza Hoseyn Khan, Joghrafiya-ye Isfahan (Tehran, 1963), pp. 92-128.

35. Muslims in general consumed less fish than the Armenians.

36. Prior to the Russian conquest there existed a glass-work shop in Erevan. It was destroyed during the war and no figures are available on the production, Shopen, op. cit., p. 474. The potterers in general did not produce high quality materials and much had to be imported from Tiflis, ibid., p. 858.

37. The ironers pressed colorful designs on silk.

38. The office of the mint was sold annually by the khan. The minter charged up to 5 percent profit for reminting a coin.

39. Four of the Muslim dyers dealt in red dye, while the other two in blue. The Armenian ratio was 2 to 1. The red dyers were called shilachi and could use other colors as well. The blue dyers were called boyakhchi and were confined to the blue color. This latter group had to have a qabaleh (tax certificate) from the tax farmer in order to continue its business.

40. See note 56 of this chapter for more information.

41. The street vendors and peddlers sold glassware, dried fruit, iced drinks, and a variety of miscellaneous items.

42. Morier, op. cit., pp. 305-306.

43. Ibid., p. 37. The travellers who, in many cases, comment with indignation about the conditions of the Persian and Armenian peasants ignore that the conditions of peasantry in England, the continent, and Russia were the same. O. U. Hufton writes, "Dwelling in one roomed cottages, where light and air were secondary considerations to warmth, and huddled together often with their animals for the heat their bodies offered, the laboring poor lived in habitations that were an abrogation of all standards of cleanliness." The Eighteenth Century, ed. by A. Cobban (London, 1969), p. 294. By the nineteenth century the British peasants were driven away from their lands and were living in worse conditions in the city while working in the factories, see F. Bedarida, "The Cities," Nineteenth Century, ed. by A. Briggs (London, 1970), p. 100. The condition of the Russian peasant in his serfdom was not only similar but probably worse for the only way nineteenth-century Russia could maintain and increase her agricultural exports (in return for much needed imports) was to squeeze her peasantry by the primitive and intensive labor method, thus reducing

the standard of living of the farmers, ibid., p. 160. For more details on the fate of the Russian peasant see J. Blum, Lord and Peasant in Russia (Princeton, 1961).

44. Quoted in A. von Haxthausen, Zakavkazskii krai, I (St. Petersburg, 1857), 185-186.

45. L. G. Hayden, "Living Standards in Rural Iran," Middle East Journal, III (2, 1949), has more detailed analyses.

46. As already stated the Muslim considered pigs haram.

47. The nomads were the main owners of the above lands.

48. The chart above favors the Armenians since they were four times less than the Muslims.

49. L. White, Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1967), p. 62.

50. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

51. Freygang, op. cit., pp. 296-297.

52. The average American consumes 118 pounds of grain a year, World Book, XX (1970), 218. This indicates how much more grain was the basic staple of the pre-industrial society.

53. Shppen, op. cit., p. 739. In today's milling process 72 percent of the bulk is turned into flour. A pound of flour can produce a two pound loaf of yeast bread, World Book, XX (1970), 219-220.

54. For more details see Issawi, Economic History.

55. If agricultural taxes of Erevan seem exorbitant, when compared to the taxes paid by the French peasant only 40 years before, they seem lighter. The French peasant was assessed the same way (lump sum divided among the peasants by the parishes) but paid considerably more since he paid 50 to 60 percent of his produce before the deduction of next year's seed (another fifth) whereas the peasants in Erevan paid after deducting the seed. See Land Tenure, Chapter VI, for more details.

56. The 1,473 gardens of Erevan alone produced more than all the gardens and orchards of the mahals combined. This was because the gardeners of Erevan had a market

to sell their goods, while the farmers generally consumed the fruit and sold the remainder in the mahal centers.

57. Shopen, op. cit., pp. 826-830.

58. Close to 250 oil presses and over 1,000 various kinds of flour mills (water, animals, and stone) turned the seeds into marketable products.

59. The mahals had close to 950 mills, while the city had only 50. This is in contrast with the gardens and demonstrates the nonrural character of the City of Erevan. Big water mills could mill one kharvar wheat daily. Twenty-five percent of the mills in the khanate were water-driven and belonged to the community, the remainder were local or family mills which ground between 15 and 20 batman daily.

60. Over 200 of the oil presses were scattered in the mahals producing some 1,500 batman oil annually from the big assembled presses. However, only Qerq-bulagh, Karbi-basar, Surmalu, and Sardarabad had assembled machines; the others were individual local hand presses producing 1 batman oil from four batman of seeds.

61. The mahals of Seyyedli-Akhsakhli and Darachichak specialized in the above.

62. The red dye group was divided into 0 to 1, while the blue dyers were 2 to 17.

63. There were close to 3,000 weaving machines (dastgah) in the Khanates of Erevan and Nakhchevan. In Nakhchevan the weavers paid 1 toman per dastgah annually, while in Erevan the sardar received a percentage of the cloth which amounted to one stil per dastgah.

64. The above soapmakers were all in one village and did nothing else but produce soap. This village was the Sheykh Zad 'Ali in the Garni-basar district.

65. The village of Sarvan-lar in the district of Zangi-basar specialized in this service.

66. The inhabitants of the Saotlin mahal engaged in this trade.

67. The villages of Dallar and Gabar 'Ali of the Darachichak mahal caught hawks and falcons for the sardar's hunting pleasure.

68. The Karachi gypsies of the Chinakhanli village of the Garni-basar mahal engaged in snake catching, bear training and other carnival activities.

69. They inhabited the mahal of Sardarabad and transported people to the other side of the Aras, sometimes all the way to Nakhchevan.

70. Ker-Porter, op. cit., I, 195, 203.

71. Azerbaidzhan Archives, Persian MSS. 29, fol. 310.

CONCLUSION

It is ironic that one of the most effective periods of Persian rule in Eastern Armenia came in its final two decades. This circumstance was related directly to the administration of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar, who governed for that entire duration. Following a number of incompetent governors, Hoseyn Khan managed to transform a bankrupt area into a reliable military and economic fortress. The methods of change were manifold. The khan overcame the threat of an unruly nomadic population by exempting them from certain taxes; drafting them into the cavalry; and assigning them the task of raiding the neighboring territories. This in turn enabled the settled population of the Khanate of Erevan to live in relative harmony. The khan assumed total control of the military by appointing his trusted companions to the important positions in the army, thus eliminating the warlords who once wrought havoc upon the region. The last Persian governor of Erevan created a large and intricate bureaucracy, which carried out his commands and by which he was able to control the entire area. This salaried bureaucracy diminished the need for the traditional landowners to act as state representatives. Private landholdings were

reduced considerably, enabling the khan to be independent from the local magnates. An important service of the new administration was the regulation of taxes. Before the arrival of Hoseyn Khan the inhabitants of Eastern Armenia had to pay a variety of indirect taxes to the lords, over and above their assessed dues to the state. The khan ended this practice by exacting taxes semiannually. Furthermore, the taxes were levied on the entire community and usually divided among the inhabitants by their elders on an ability-to-pay basis. Although the tax burden of the population was not lowered, they enjoyed the benefits of safe roads, protection from nomadic harassment, abundance of produce, and vivacity of trade. It is not surprising, therefore, that both the government and the population of the Khanate of Erevan, in a short time, acquired wealth, the former in the form of hard cash and the latter in produce and animals.

Ignoring these benefits some historians have bypassed the revival of these last years and have chosen to portray the entire era of Persian rule in Eastern Armenia as feudal and exploitative of the masses, particularly the Armenian. This study has attempted to demonstrate that, contrary to some biased opinions, the opposite was true during the rule of Hoseyn Qoli Khan. Although the majority of the governors of the various Persian provinces behaved as alien military colonists whose main interest was to enrich themselves and their immediate family, the khan of Erevan, on

the other hand, did not act as a greedy mercenary but rather served as a benevolent patriarch. With his control of army, trade, produce, property, labor, and material, the khan dominated all of the society. Hoseyn Qoli Khan and his bureaucracy did not govern from without, but merged political control with economic and social roles. It is true that the Muslim supremacy, especially in the Qajar period, was particularly harsh for the Christian population of Eastern Armenia. Unfortunately, some sources have included the governorship of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Qajar in their blanket condemnation of Persian rule. It is, however, shortsighted to view only the ills of foreign domination and to ignore the well-being of a community, which before the arrival of Hoseyn Qoli Khan Sardar suffered from periodical famine, disease, looting, and disorder.

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APPENDIX

TABLE XX

Weights, Measures, and Currency

Measures of Length

1 gaz = 1 meter = 39.37 inches

1 jarib = 1,200 sq. meters = 1,435 sq. yards

Measures of Weight

Solid Matter

1 Erevani batman = 20 stil = 5 kg. = 11.0230 lbs.

100 Erevani batmans = 1 kharvar

Liquid Matter

1 keras = 20 liters = 4 gallons

1 liter = 4 chareks

1 charek = 4 nuki

Currency

1 toman = 10 minal-tomans = 4 Russian roubles = 5 British pounds (1800) and 2.25 pounds (1826)

1 minaltun (minal-toman) = 1,000 dinars (usually silver)

1 toman = 50 'Abbasis (usually gold or silver

1 'Abbasi = 4 shahis (usually silver, later tin)

1 shahi = 10 puls (cheap quality of copper coins)

1 pul = 5 dinars (a farthing)
